

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARE

COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



L O N D O N
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount 1623

TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST FOILIO,
with portrait of Shakespeare engraved by Droeshout

A PRINTER OF SHAKESPEARE

THE BOOKS AND TIMES OF
WILLIAM JAGGARD

BY
EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

LONDON
PHILIP ALLAN & CO. LTD.

1934

*Made and printed in Great Britain by Robert MacLehose
& Co Ltd at the University Press, Glasgow,
and published by Philip Allan & Co. Ltd.
at Quality House, 69 Great Russell
Street, London, W.C.1*

TO
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I INTRODUCTION - - - - -	1
II PRINTING AND PUBLISHING IN THE TIME OF JAGGARD - - - - -	5
III YOUTH - - - - -	36
IV FIRST EFFORTS AS A PUBLISHER - -	42
V. THE PIRACY OF "THE PASSIONATE PIL- GRIME" - - - - -	47
VI. TROUBLE WITH THE GOVERNMENT - -	52
VII. JAGGARD'S ESSAY AT AUTHORSHIP - -	60
VIII. THE PRINTING HOUSE IN BARBICAN -	63
IX. INCREASING PROSPERITY - - - -	74
X JAGGARD'S QUARREL WITH HEYWOOD -	87
XI. BLINDNESS - - - - -	102
XII THE FALSELY DATED SHAKESPEARE QUAR- TOS OF 1619 - - - - -	125
XIII. JAGGARD'S CONTROVERSY WITH RALPH BROOKE - - - - -	140
XIV. THE PRINTING OF THE FIRST FOLIO OF SHAKESPEARE - - - - -	157
XV. DEATH - - - - -	175
XVI THE BOOKS OF WILLIAM JAGGARD - -	185
XVII. GUIDE BOOKS TO HEAVEN - - -	189
XVIII. SERMONS WHICH SHAKESPEARE MAY HAVE HEARD - - - - -	195
XIX. THEOLOGY - - - - -	205

CHAPTER	PAGE
XX. SCIENTIFIC BOOKS - - - - -	213
XXI BOOKS OF POPULAR SUPERSTITION - -	227
XXII SOCIAL REFORM AND POLITICAL SCIENCE	232
XXIII. PUBLIC PRINTING - - - - -	250
XXIV HISTORY AND HERALDRY - - -	256
XXV “BOOKES OF FARRE JOURNEYING M ^{FN} ”	275
XXVI. A DICTIONARY - - - - -	280
XXVII LITERATURE - - - - -	282
INDEX - - - - -	299

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST FOLIO - -	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PORTRAIT AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SIR WILLIAM RYDER - - - - -	FACING PAGE 60
PARLIAMENT SCENE, FROM MILLES' "NOBILITAS"	84
PORTRAIT OF THOMAS WILSON - - - -	92
TITLE-PAGE OF THE RARE SECOND ISSUE OF CROOKE'S "MIKROKOSMOGRAPHIA" - - - -	106
PORTRAIT OF RALPH BROOKE - - - -	144
TITLE-PAGE OF BURTON'S "LEICESTERSHIRE" -	166
PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, FROM MILLES' "NOBILITAS" - - - - -	186
TITLE-PAGE OF THE SECOND EDITION OF CROOKE'S "MIKROKOSMOGRAPHIA (1631)" - - -	224
PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ, FROM RALEIGH'S "HISTORY" - - - - -	260
TITLE-PAGE OF MILLES' "CATALOGUE OF HONOR" -	268
PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM BURTON - - - -	274

IN THE TEXT

TITLE-PAGE OF TOPSELL'S "HISTORIE OF SER- PENTS" - - - - -	PAGE 81
TITLE-PAGE OF READ'S "SOMATOGRAPHIA ANTHRO- PINE" - - - - -	115

WOODCUTS OF THE ELEPHANT AND THE BULL FROM TOPSELL'S "HISTORIE OF FOUERE-FOOTED BEASTES" - - - - -	PAGE 217
PORTRAIT OF TOM CORYATE RIDING ON AN ELEPHANT, FROM HIS "TO THE ENGLISH WITS: GREET- ING" (FROM A COPY IN THE HENRY E. HUN- TINGTON LIBRARY; REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION)	279
A WOODCUT FROM BOCCACCIO'S "DECAMERON" (1620) (FROM A COPY IN THE HENRY E. HUN- TINGTON LIBRARY, REPRODUCED BY PERMIS- SION) - - - - -	293

PREFACE

ONE of the ironies of Shakespearean study is the fact that, although the lives of most of the important critics who have emended or explained the words which the journeymen of William Jaggard put into type have been fully treated, no life of this printer of Shakespeare has ever been written. No account of him is given in that great roll of prominent Englishmen, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, nor in the great reference book, *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, although both of these works contain a biography of his fellow stationer, Edward Blount, who evidently entered into the venture of the publication of the First Folio of Shakespeare after Jaggard had made all the arrangements and had printed at least one-third of the volume. But obscurity has not been the worst fate meted out to the memory of William Jaggard. Incomplete facts, easily interpreted wrongly, have given him an unmerited bad reputation. As in connection with my work on *The Printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1932) I studied the life of Jaggard, I could not fail to realize the difference between the facts and the popular opinion, and I became hopeful that some other lovers of Shakespeare might care

to read the life story of the man who first put into print a collected edition of Shakespeare's plays and by that simple act made secure the reputation of the greatest of English poets.

Just before going to press, copies of three pamphlets printed by Jaggard, not found previously, were located Thomas Savile's *Prisoners Conference* (1605; see p. 71), Jacques Gaultier's *Rodomontados* (1610; p. 97), and *Troubles in Bohemia Procured by the Jesuites* (for John Piper, 1619; see p. 126). The Annuity of James Roberts (p. 75), it may be added also, was probably granted him for his surrender to the Stationers Company of his rights to *Almanacks* under Elizabeth's patent (cf. SR III, 43).

There remains the pleasant task of thanking those who have aided me in this work. To Professors John Mathews Manly, C. R. Baskervil, R. C. Crane, Pierce Butler and Dr. Evelyn M. Albright of the University of Chicago; Professor A. W. Pollard, Dr. W. W. Greg, Dr. R. B. McKerrow, Mr. F. S. Ferguson and Professor John Dover Wilson of the Bibliographical Society; and to Mr. R. A. Peddie and Mr. R. Lewis of the London book trade I offer my heartfelt thanks for the suggestions and help which they have so freely given me. Mr. F. Millet Salter I thank for reading for me difficult manuscripts and for other favours. Dr. Grace W. Landrum, Dean of Women of the College of William and Mary, Mrs. Gertrude Loop Woodward, Curator of Rare Books of the Newberry Library, Dr. John W. Spargo of Northwestern University, and Mr. Ernst F.

Detterer, Custodian of the John M. Wing Foundation of the Newberry Library, have read this book either in manuscript or in proof. To them I am very grateful. To the Henry E. Huntington Library, the Library of Congress, the Newberry Library, the Surgeon General's Library and the Library of the University of Chicago I am indebted for permission to reproduce engravings. For courtesies extended to me when using libraries I thank Mr. A. I. Ellis and Mr. A. F. Johnson of the British Museum, Mr. W. Turner Berry of St. Bride's Institute, Miss Winifred Vernooy of the University of Chicago Libraries and their capable assistants. For permission to examine records I thank Mr. A. H. Thomas, Deputy Keeper of City Records, City of London Record Office, the Rev. Arthur Taylor, Vicar of St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, the Clerk of the Stationers Company, and the officials of Somerset House and the Public Record Office. For encouragement during the prosecution of this study I thank Miss Helen C. Stock, Mr. Henry Allen Moe, Miss Margaret Rickert, Miss Edith Green, Mrs. F. M. Salter, Miss Edith Benbow, my former colleagues at the Newberry Library and my colleagues at the College of William and Mary. For financial aid which made the writing of this work possible I am very grateful to John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Trustees of the Newberry Library (and Mr. Philip Williams, the Financial Agent) and the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago.

Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the errors and shortcomings of this work.

EDWIN ELIOTT WILLOUGHBY

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

4th March, 1934

ABBREVIATIONS

- PRO · Public Record Office.
- Records* *Records of the Court of the Stationers Company*, ed. by W W Gieg and E Boswell (London, Bibliographical Society, 1930).
- SR · *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, ed by Edward Arber (London, 1876-94, 5 v.)
- STC A Short-Title Catalogue of . . English Books . . 1475-1640, comp by A. W Pollard and G. R Redgrave (London, Bibliographical Society, 1926)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

AN “infamous pirate, liar and thief” with such words did Swinburne¹ brand William Jaggard, the printer to whom we are largely indebted for the preservation of one half of Shakespeare’s dramatic works.

Even if the offences of which Jaggard stands accused were as serious as his critics have urged, they fade into insignificance beside the service which he rendered mankind when, evidently at a risk of considerable financial loss and in the face of opposition from other stationers, he gave to the world *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies* (1623). This volume, the most precious book in the English language, rescued from the danger of oblivion *The Tempest, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Measure for Measure, The Comedy of Errors, As You Like It, The Taming of the Shrew, All’s Well, Twelfth Night, Winter’s Tale, King John, 1 Henry VI, Henry VIII, Coriolanus, Timon of Athens, Julius Caesar, Macbeth, Antony and Cleopatra* and *Cymbeline*; gave us the first uncorrupted texts of *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Henry V* and 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and added

¹ *Studies in Prose and Poetry* (London, 1894), p. 90.

to the heritage of posterity another version of *Hamlet*.

Indeed, it may confidently be asserted that William Jaggard has given us the Shakespeare which we know to-day. By collecting the dramatist's plays into one volume he made it easy for Shakespeare's works to be read and studied as a whole. By preserving them in a large, well printed and expensive volume, he assured their commanding a respect which would not have been accorded them had they been available only in small, cheap, quarto pamphlets. With the printing of the First Folio edition by Jaggard Shakespeare's literary reputation was assured.

Jaggard's critics, however, tend to treat him unjustly. Transactions which are merely inexplicable are often assumed by them, almost as a matter of course, to be shady. Jaggard's ill repute has even reflected discredit upon the First Folio of Shakespeare, but, at present, bibliographers and textual critics for the most part accept it as both authorized and carefully printed. Jaggard's reputation for dishonesty rests, in fact, upon only three incidents in his career :

(1) In 1599 he published as Shakespeare's a small pamphlet of twenty poems, entitled *The Passionate Pilgrime*, which contained but five pieces by the dramatist and these, in all probability, surreptitiously obtained.

(2) In 1612 he issued a third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime* padded with additional poems

including two " Epistles " from Thomas Heywood's *Troia Britannica*, which he had published three years before an action which aroused the anger of both Heywood and Shakespeare.

(3) In 1619 he printed as Shakespeare's a set of nine quartos of plays some of which were falsely ascribed to the dramatist, and some of which were provided with false dates and imprints no doubt for the purpose of deceiving Shakespeare's old company, the King's Players.

The character of William Jaggard, moreover, should be judged by the course of his entire life and not upon the basis of a few unfortunate incidents. In the present study, it is hoped, sufficient representative facts have been collected that a true estimate may be reached of the printer's character. Details heretofore neglected his standing among his " very good friendes and brothers " of the Stationers' Company, his continued relations with the pious puritan divines, Thomas Wilson and William Attersoll and with his shrewd and learned pastor, Edward Topsell, the evident respect in which his neighbours held his memory when they elected his son, Thomas Jaggard, their minister, and his prosperity, which in his later days at least removed him from any pressing temptation to dishonesty

all accord ill with the assumption that Jaggard was a " pirate, liar and thief ". A more careful study of Jaggard's life, then, will lead, in our opinion, to the conclusion that he was an honest, prosperous, puritan printer who occasionally like many

of his fellows in that over-regulated age made a ship.

Above all, unless we greatly misinterpret the evidence, the life of William Jaggard is a story of high courage and indomitable will. About 1612 he was stricken blind, but despite his infirmities he continued to conduct his business with such ability that he outstripped most of his competitors who had both health and sight. It is not unlikely, then, that because a London printer was not daunted by almost overwhelming difficulties, Shakespeare is to-day recognized as the world's greatest dramatist.

.

Besides a summary of the events of Jaggard's life, the present work includes as an aid to the interpretation of these incidents a short description of the printing and publishing conditions of his time and also a survey from the point of view of literary content of the books which he issued.

CHAPTER II

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING IN THE TIME OF JAGGARD

THE Elizabethan and Jacobean stationer like all the other workers of London, other than the common labourers was a member of a City Company. In the early days of the printed book trade, men belonging to various guilds especially to the Grocers' and Drapers' Companies engaged along with the Stationers in the printing and selling of books. Later, however, the business became concentrated in the hands of the Worshipful Company of Stationers. A guild of stationers who had devoted themselves to the copying, illuminating, selling and renting of books had been in existence in London at least as early as 1404, but on the 4th of May 1557 a new company was granted a royal charter and this fellowship gradually assumed control of the printing and publishing business.

The avowed primary object of the granting of the charter to the Company was to render more easy of enforcement the censorship of books. Before his break with the Roman Church, Henry VIII had stopped the importation of Lutheran books into England. Later he exercised a similar censorship upon Catholic books, a measure which was made more stringent in the reign of Edward VII. The

ascension of Mary to the throne, however, directed the censorship against the opposite party. Reigning over subjects whose religious convictions on the whole differed strongly from her own, she attempted to suppress the expression of Protestant views by burning books and writers together. This procedure was not successful. She next hit upon a plan so shrewd that by following it sovereigns of widely different opinions until the beginning of the Civil War were able to control the press. She incorporated almost all who had anything to do with the printing, binding and selling of books into the Worshipful Company of Stationers and forbade anyone to print or sell books unless he had been admitted to the Company or had obtained a special governmental licence to exercise his craft. In other words, she created a special privileged body who, because they held what approached to a monopoly, would, to safeguard their own interests, take care not to publish books which had not been licensed as conforming to her views and would unite with her officers in suppressing printers who were outside their own easily supervised ranks.

Elizabeth, although she desired to exercise censorship against her sister's religious party, recognized the value of Mary's statesmanship, and confirmed the charter of the Stationers' Company. When in 1586 the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, desired to make more stringent the censorship of books, he merely reinforced by a decree of the Star Chamber the Marian regulations. As before, it was

required that all books which were to be printed must first be licensed, and severe penalties were provided for the printing of "unallowed" books or the keeping of a secret press. In order to facilitate the inspection of the printing industry also, no presses were permitted to be set up outside of London and Westminster (with the exception of one press each which was allowed the universities of Oxford and Cambridge), and the Master and Wardens of the Company were authorized to inspect the work of the printing presses at all times. Realizing, too, that the temptation to print "nautic & seedyous bookes" would always present itself to poor printers, the Star Chamber forbade any new presses to be set up until the number of those existing had been reduced, and, with the exception of the Queen's Printer, no master-stationer was permitted to have more than one apprentice, save an Under Warden or a member of the Livery who might have two, and a Master or Upper Warden who was allowed three (SR II, 807-12). The number of printers was thus reduced to about twenty and the number of presses to about fifty. How small this number was may be seen by the fact that during the Golden Age of English literature the entire land of England was permitted by law to have but twice the facilities for printing which were possessed by one house in Antwerp the printing office of Christophe Plantin.

Printing was now placed in the hands of a small group of men who would have little to gain and

much to lose by displeasing the authorities. The whole Company also, chiefly in the persons of the Master and the two Wardens, was held responsible for the acts of its members. These officials therefore could be relied upon in their own interests to keep a close watch upon any printer who manifested lawless tendencies

The desired effect was attained. The printing of prohibited books until the eve of the Civil War became very infrequent, a notable thing when the nation was being torn by a mighty religious and political struggle. But the art of printing suffered greatly. Few scholarly books were issued. The occasional volumes of the Greek and Latin classics which were printed were almost without exception cheap school editions. Unlike the great scholar-printers of the Continent who were their contemporaries, the men who preserved the glorious literature of the age of Elizabeth and James were petty craftsmen and tradesmen.

Besides creating a small, easily regulated body of printers, the sovereign further restricted the printing and publishing of certain classes of books to privileged stationers. Thus, for example, in 1582 the Queen's Printer, Richard Barker, had an exclusive right not only to proclamations and like forms of governmental printing, but to the most profitable of all books, the Bible; Richard Tottell had a similar right to law books, Henry Bynneman to dictionaries and chronicles, and five more stationers to other classes of books (SR II, 775-6). By

granting these privileges, the government not only rewarded stationers who had made themselves useful to it, but created within the guild a body of men, most of them prosperous and influential in the craft, who could be relied upon to support enthusiastically the trade regulations by which they themselves profited. On the other hand, by taking the most profitable work out of the hands of the smaller printers, the government created what it sincerely desired to avoid, a body of tradesmen who, because they lacked legitimate work, might be tempted to print forbidden books. In fact, in 1582 the monopolies proved so oppressive that a secret organization of the poorer printers, led by John Wolf, became so troublesome to the holders of the privileges that the patentees decided that it would be a good policy to conciliate their poorer brethren by assigning to the Company certain of their "copies" for the use of the unprivileged (SR II, 753-806), and from this time revolts against authority were remarkably few.

Serious from a trade point of view was the practice fortunately never very common of granting patents for the sole printing of classes of books to political favourites who would of course charge a fee to any stationer who might desire permission to issue a book of such a class.

The practice of granting monopolies for the printing of the best paying classes of books, needless to say, had a considerable effect upon authors. The writer of a new legal treatise in the later decades of

the sixteenth century, for example, would have to come to terms with Richard Tottell in order to get his book published. A patentee, to be sure, would hesitate to reject a book by a man of influence, but with this exception, the holder of a monopoly could practically dictate the conditions under which a book which fell in the class covered by his patent was to be printed. Yet in many ways these privileges rendered literature a great service. Monopolies were for the most part granted for serious works. The smaller printers, therefore, were forced to undertake those lighter works, described by the Master in Chancery, William Lambarde (in the Briton's perennial terms for the literature of his own day) as "unproffitable . . . bookes, pamfletes, Poocsies, ditties, songes and other woorkes, and writinges of many sortes and names serving (for a great parte of them) to none other ende . . . but to let in a mayne Sea of wickednesse and to set up an arte of making lascivious and ungodly love to the high displeasure of God . . . to the manifest injurie and offence to the Godly learned whose prayse woorthie endeavours and wrytings are therefore the lesse read and regarded . . . and to the no small or sufferable waste of the treasure of this realme which is thearby consumed and spent in paper" (SR II, 751), but which we know as the great lyric and dramatic treasures of the reign of Elizabeth.

The usual method of entering the freedom of the Stationers' Company was by serving an apprenticeship. An apprentice usually entered upon his term

at the age of eighteen or under and served for seven, eight or even for as much as eleven years, so that the end of his apprenticeship would come in his twenty-fourth year of age. The son of a member of the Stationers' Company, however, might take his freedom by patrimony. Sometimes, too, a member of another city company might be made free of the Stationers' Company by transfer (*per translationem*). This privilege was given either as a mark of favour, or, as was more often the case, in order to induce a member of another guild who was practising the art of printing or bookselling to submit himself to the discipline of the Company. Again, the freedom of the Company might sometimes be obtained by redemption, that is, by the payment of a substantial fee.

After finishing his apprenticeship, the young freeman usually accepted a position as compositor, pressman or book-clerk, and as a rule we hear nothing more of him unless because of old age or bodily infirmity, he or his widow were granted a pension by the Company. In a few fortunate cases, however, especially if the young man's family had a little capital, the newly made freeman would set up in business as a small stationer. He might begin his career in a little shed in Fleet Street or in Paul's Churchyard stocked with a few recently published books, and he might eke out his scanty profits by selling second-hand books, or paper and writing material, or perhaps even, like the *stationarius* of the mediaeval university, by

conducting a rental library (cf. W. G. Bell, *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries*, 1912, p. 267). If he prospered in his calling he might enter into a partnership with a printer, or upon the death or retirement of a printer he might buy his establishment. Sometimes, too, a journeyman married his master's daughter, or as was much more often the case, his widow, and thereby obtained the control of a press.

As he prospered in his business, a stationer would usually be advanced in the offices of the Company. From the rank of simple freeman he would be elevated to that of a member of the Livery. Later, unless he were very fortunate, he would be elected for a year one of the two Renter Wardens, who were compelled to perform the onerous duties of collecting quarterages from the liverymen and of providing at their own expense a dinner for the Master, Wardens, Assistants and the Livery. Later he might be elected a member of the Court of Assistants which with the Master and Wardens governed the Company. He might then be elected Under Warden, Upper Warden, and in time, Master. These offices entailed responsible and time-consuming duties, and although election to them testified to the incumbent's prosperity and prominence in the Company and placed in his hands considerable power (the Master and Wardens, for example, could throw into gaol any stationer disobeying their orders), many preferred to pay fines rather than to serve in the offices to which they were elected.

Stationers, with the exception of a few bookbinders, were divided into two classes, printers and booksellers. Printers, to be sure, were usually also booksellers, though some of them perhaps most of them minimized the amount of their retail selling. William Jaggard, for instance, began as a bookseller, then became a printer and bookseller, but later gave over as much of his retailing as possible to other stationers, retaining chiefly large and expensive books of a specialized character, most of which no doubt were issued in limited editions.

In order better to understand the functions of a printer and bookseller in the times of Elizabeth and James, let us attempt to trace the history of the manufacture and sale of a book from the completion of the manuscript by the author to the delivery of the printed book into the hands of the purchaser.

It was once believed and by the sheer force of inertia, the impression still prevails in some quarters that the stationers of Shakespeare's day often perhaps usually obtained their copies by stealth and printed them without the author's consent. It is now known (largely as the result of the efforts of Professor Alfred W. Pollard¹) that, although piracy sometimes took place, in the vast majority of cases the copy was honestly obtained. Instances are known, indeed, of a stationer's subsidizing an

¹ *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594 1685* (London, 1909), pp. v-vi, 1-12; *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* (Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1920), pp. 1-52.

author to write a book for publication. George Bishop, for example, paid the expenses of Dr. William Fulke while he was writing the *Confutation of the Annotations of the Rhemish New Testament* (1589) and then paid him liberally £40, the equivalent of £400 in to-day's value when he had completed it (SR III, 39-40). Such an arrangement, however, was unusual. More frequently authors peddled their manuscripts to printers and sold them at low prices. Sometimes, indeed, writers were glad to have their books printed without payment from the stationer, as they were usually rewarded by a small gift from the patron to whom they dedicated their work. For a small book this gratuity seems to have been about £2. Nathan Field in the preface to his *Woman is a Weathercock* (1612) says, "I did determine not to have Dedicated my Play to any Body, because forty shillings I care not for, and above, few or none will bestow upon such matters". For a large book the payment ordinarily was not much greater. The Barber-Surgeons' Company paid Dr. Helkiah Crooke £5 for the dedication to them of his *Mikrokosmographia* (1615), but they received in return from the author a copy of a book which in all probability sold for considerably more than £1 (Sidney Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons* of London, 1890, p. 332).

Authors of rank and quality, on the other hand, considered it beneath their dignity to receive payment for their literary productions. In fact, they often thought it bad form for an author of social

standing to offer his works to a printer. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that they usually felt themselves flattered if one of their friends considered their works which circulated in manuscript worthy of publication and took it to a stationer in order that he might have it printed. Often, indeed, the author felt it necessary to protest that the work had been published without his consent. In most cases, however, we may be quite certain, this was merely a means of serving notice that the author had not, like a professional writer of lower social position, sold his work to a publisher. These protests, however, have been misunderstood and, considered in connection with the fact that manuscripts were sometimes dishonestly obtained and the absence of a definite copyright law, they have given the publisher of Shakespeare's day an unmerited bad reputation.

The Elizabethan and Jacobean stationer would indeed sometimes print dishonestly procured manuscripts. This was rendered possible in the first place by the custom of Elizabethan authors of circulating manuscript copies of their literary works among their friends' as Shakespeare, for instance, did his "sugred sonnets" and the practice, both of the author and his friends, of having copies multiplied by professional scribes. Carelessness on the part of the friends or dishonesty on the part of the scrivener might result in a manuscript of the work's falling into the hands of a printer who needed copy and who was not too careful about the source.

There is reason to believe, also, that this process was facilitated by the existence of regular dealers in surreptitiously acquired manuscripts, of whom Thomas Thorp, the pirate of Shakespeare's sonnets, was almost undoubtedly one, who supplied printers with this type of copy. Orally published works such as plays and sermons were sometimes taken down by stenography or patched up from notes. Many of the discourses of the popular Puritan preacher, Henry Smith, lecturer at St. Clement Danes, found their way into print by this means. Plays, too, were sometimes printed from the player's part of a dishonest actor supplemented by his memory. Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Hamlet* are probably examples of this method of piracy.

Dishonestly acquired copy was, nevertheless, seldom used in the Elizabethan and Jacobean printing office. Although a regularly formulated copyright law did not exist, there was, nevertheless, a common-law right of an author to his own productions, and if, as in the case of a dramatist, this right were assigned to the purchaser of the work, in this instance a company of players, the assignee possessed the same rights as the author. This right was usually enforced in an indirect manner. If possible, a powerful friend would be induced to write a letter to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company, directing them to stay the publication of works which the author or assignee did not wish published. Even works entered in the Register of

the Company were not free from this interference. Certainly upon two occasions, and in all probability on three, the Lord Chamberlain forbade the printing of plays belonging to Shakespeare's company, the King's Men. On one other occasion, so the evidence seems to point, the threat of action by the players evidently compelled the owners of the "copies" to desist for some years from the publication of Shakespeare's plays (see below, Chapter XIV). Again, on the 30th of May 1631 the Reverend Edward Topsell, William Jaggard's old friend and pastor, appeared before the Court of Assistants of the Stationers' Company armed with a letter from "my Lords Grace of Canterbury" and complained against the printing of his "Booke called Gesner his third booke of birds in English" which had been regularly entered to Jaggard's successors, Thomas and Richard Cotes, a few months before (SR IV, 242). The Court heard both sides and decided as there was little doubt that it would that the entry in the Hall Book should be cancelled (Court Book C). A year later Topsell relented and the Cotes brothers and Master Legatt "by vertue of a note under the hand of Master Topsell" again entered the book for their copy (SR IV, 281). But the old scholar evidently later changed his mind once again, for the book, which to judge from Topsell's other paraphrases of Gesner must have been a fascinating one, was never published.

An author without powerful friends might experience more trouble in preventing the piracy of

his books, and even those who had them might find it better rather than to trouble their friends with minor suits, to attempt to settle the trouble by peaceful negotiations. The very existence of a body of minor professional writers of ballads and pamphlets, however, proves that their works could not be seized by printers without payment. At all events, the Master and Wardens (who would have to bear the brunt of the dispute should any difficulty arise) would be apt to demand whence the copy was obtained and, if the answer was not satisfactory, the entry would be refused or qualified by some phrase such as "provided he can get further authority for it".

The tradition, then, that the printers of Shakespeare's day made a usual practice of printing books which their authors desired to keep out of circulation is based upon a few flagrant examples of piracy and the misunderstood statements of gentlemen who probably rejoiced to see their works in print. Some writers, indeed, paid part or all of the expenses of printing. This is especially true, no doubt, of the writers of learned works, but even authors of works addressed to a more popular audience sometimes adopted this expedient: Nashe wrote of Gabriel Harvey, "He gives money to be seene and have his wit lookt upon, never printing a booke yet for whose impression he hath not either paid or run in debt" (*Have with you to Saffron Walden* in *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 1904-10, III, 128).

The practice of sharing the costs of publication with the printer was, as we have noted, especially

prevalent among the authors of serious works. The Reverend John Davies of Mallwyd, after negotiating for more than a year in a vain attempt to find a printer who would undertake his Welsh-Latin dictionary on the basis of author and publisher sharing expenses, finally paid the entire cost of the production of the book (published in 1632) and gave a London bookseller the chief agency for selling it (Willoughby in *The Library World*, 1931, xxxiii, 231-2). Controversial works were sometimes printed at the cost of the author in order that he might give the copies away. This, so we have good reason to believe, was the case with the second edition of the *Catalogue and Succession* (1622) by Jaggard's enemy, Ralph Brooke.

Stationers frequently had regular dealings with authors for many years. Jaggard, for example, did business throughout his career with the puritan ministers, William Attersoll and Thomas Wilson and with the antiquarian and economist, Thomas Milles. As today, the Elizabethan publisher often served as a means of communication between the author and the reader. In the preface to *A breefe Treatise called Caryes Farewell to Physicke*, printed and published by Jaggard's master, Henry Denham, in 1587, the author, Walter Carey, thus addresses the reader: "If thou mislike anie thing herein conteined write thy mind and deliver it to the printer and I will be verie willing by writing again to satisfie thee, or otherwise thankfullie to accept thine advise and confess my fault".

The manuscript having been obtained and arrangements having been made to print the book, the copy would ordinarily be taken to a censor for license. The power to license books was by the Star Chamber decree of 1586 entrusted (except in the case of law-books) to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London (SR II, 810). Although it was not expected that these two busy officials should peruse all the books presented to them, it soon became apparent that even to hear the reports of their deputized readers and to sign the licences would impose upon these two authorities a heavy task. A *modus operandi*, however, was soon reached. If a perfectly innocuous book were to be printed, the Master and Wardens, or one or two of them, might allow the book to be entered in the Register of the Company without further formality. If, however, the book treated of anything which concerned Church or State and even such a subject as medicine was under the control of the bishop the publisher would take it to one of the chaplains of the Bishop of London (or in case of certain classes of technical books to one of the deputized professional experts) appointed for the purpose of examining books submitted to him.¹ If he, upon perusing it, found the work orthodox and if the author were reputed to be of sound opinion, the censor would usually speedily

¹ See list of licensers in *Records of the Court of the Stationers Company*, ed by W W Greg and E Boswell, pp 28-9. In the case of some of the licensers the names of two had to be endorsed on the copy.

endorse a licence on the manuscript. If, on the other hand, the sentiments did not plainly accord with those held by the officials of the Church and State, or if the author were reputed to hold erroneous views or were for any other reason disliked by the governing powers, the censor would either reject the book forthwith or refer the copy to the Bishop of London, who might in turn submit it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The author and printer in such a case would probably have to wait for a long time, if, indeed, they ever obtained a licence. Fortunately, however, there were always some differences of opinion among the various parties of the officials in the Church and State, and the fact that the printers had a limited choice of censors to whom they submitted their manuscripts enabled to some extent authors of divergent opinions to be heard. Furthermore, it must not be supposed that because a book was licensed by the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury it was necessarily a suspected production. Works of great importance or written by noted or favoured clergymen were sometimes personally licensed by these great ecclesiastics as a mark of commendation. Although the licensing of a book normally preceded the beginning of printing, in some special instances, as in the case of the First Folio of Shakespeare, licensing was delayed until immediately before publication.

The book having been licensed, the usual procedure was to enter the title of the work in the

Register or Hall Book of the Stationers' Company.¹ Once a book was legally entered, no other stationer might print it, and provided the owner or his assigns kept reprinting it, the life of the copyright was unlimited. If, however, the owner of a "copy" failed to issue new editions which were demanded, any printer by obtaining the consent of the Master and Wardens of the Company and agreeing to pay a certain sum, usually two and a half per cent. of the cost of production, for the use of the poor of the Company, might reprint it. Sometimes if a book were unpublished for a sufficient length of time, another printer might seize upon the "copy" as a derelict and reprint it without formality, or even enter it as his own on the Register. But when this was done, it was permitted merely because the original owner had lost interest in his "copy" and it is quite certain that the owner or any of the officials of the Company who were interested in protecting the rights of the poor could have later successfully contested the legality of the entry.

Not all the books which were published were entered upon the Registers. Books for which their authors had obtained a special privilege from the King or for which the printer had a royal privilege for publishing were usually not entered. Other

¹ These registers have been preserved and those for the years 1554-1640 have been edited by Edward Arber (*Transcript*, London, 1875-94) and those for the years 1640-1708 by G. E. B. Eyre (London, 1913-14). Needless to say, these registers give us much information concerning the printing conditions of the time.

books also, of which it was extremely unlikely that a second edition would ever be issued, were frequently not entered for copyright. When the manuscript copy of a book had been wrongfully obtained, its title seldom appeared in the Hall Book of the Company and, of course, publications which were intentional infringements upon the rights of another stationer were practically never registered. The printers for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge also, of course, did not enter books in the Register of the London Company. Nevertheless, even for books not in the classes which we have mentioned, entry in the register does not seem to have been an absolute necessity to copyright, although it must have been very embarrassing for a stationer whose "copy" had been pirated to explain why it had no entry in the Hall Book to substantiate his claim. We find, for instance, the executrix of the estate of William Jaggard's son, Isaac, transferring to the brothers Cotes copies which her father-in-law had printed but had not registered (SR iv, 182). On September 27, 1622, the Court of Assistants attempted to remedy this condition by giving "order that noe printer [should] print anie booke except the name of the clarke of the companies name be to it to signifie that it [was] entered in the hall booke according to order" (Court Book C).

Not only were books about to be printed entered in the Registers but transfers of rights were also noted therein. Here again, also, the practice was

irregular. When a business went from father to son or from a printer to his widow and her quickly acquired second husband, the transfer was seldom noted. When an entire business was taken over the practice varied. Jaggard, as we shall see, had transferred to him certain "copies" of James Roberts, whose premises and equipment he acquired, but other "copies" which his predecessor owned, though they were not assigned to him, he printed, and his heir's executrix transferred other unconveyed "copies" to Thomas and Richard Cotes. Entry of a "copy" regularly took place before printing was begun. Sometimes, however, registration took place after printing and even after publication (G. B. Harrison in *Library*, 1927, 4 ser., VIII, 273-283). Again, books to be translated were often registered before the translation had been made, and in some rare cases, usually accounts of criminals awaiting punishment, books were entered before they were written.

After the entry of a book had been made in the Register, the stationer, if he did not possess a press, would contract with a printer to produce the book. The paper would be bought and the layout of the book would be planned. Sometimes an author would have very distinct ideas concerning the printing of his book (cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1790, LX, 1, 23-4), but usually he would leave these technical details to the printer.

After the volume had been planned, the compositors would set up the copy, making as a rule but

little effort to follow the spelling or punctuation of the manuscript. If the book were a serious one, the author would usually visit the shop and read the proofs taken from the page galleys before they were locked up in the forme. If he were delayed, however, the proof-reader would mark the proof as best he could, the type would be corrected, the forme put on the press and the printing would be commenced. Should the author later arrive at the office after some sheets had been printed off, he would be allowed to correct any serious errors which remained, but the impressions from the uncorrected forme usually would not be destroyed, but would be bound up with their later printed fellows. It is because of this practice that some of the pages of the same edition of an early printed book differ so greatly from each other.

Under very unusual circumstances, as when the author was a great official, the printer would send not only the proofs but the "revises" to the writer. During the illness of Ralph Brooke, Jaggard's messenger thus waited upon the author; but this could only be done except in most unusual cases when the writer lived in London; for Jacobean printers did not have a sufficient supply of type to allow their formes to stand for days while they awaited corrections.

Great differences existed in the amount of care bestowed upon the proof-reading of books. Although the general standards of accuracy cannot be said to have been high, errors were sometimes

disastrous to the printers who committed them. Among the recommendations in the report of the Commissioners appointed by the Privy Council to investigate the conditions of the book trade are two noteworthy ones "Against False Printing": "Suche as offend to geve up their presses and live as other workmen untill they be better skilled" and "Bookes of Divinite false printed, the Printer to be punished at the Discretion of the Ancients" (SR II, 785).

This latter regulation was not a dead letter. For omitting in an edition of the Bible the word "not" from the seventh commandment, Robert Barker, the King's Printer, was brought before the Court of the Star Chamber, severely reprimanded and fined £200 the modern equivalent of which is £2000 but the fine was to be remitted if he complied with certain conditions (*Publ. Camden Soc.*, 1886, n.s. xxxi, pp. 296, 305). But grievous results might ensue from the misprinting or even the suspected misprinting of a less important work. When John Jackson, Edmund Bollifant, and other members of the Eliott's Court Press were reprinting Dr. Thomas Bilson's *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion* (the second edition of which was finally published in 1586) the influential author spurred on, there is little doubt, by his Oxford printers conceived the opinion that the partners "did prynt yll verye false". He complained to the Privy Council which promptly commanded the firm to proceed no further in the

printing, and then, to insure that their order was obeyed, issued a warrant for the seizure of the printing press and committed one of the partners to prison. The printers, in the winter of 1585-6, appealed for redress, affirming, "We have not onelye printed the booke more true butt have alsoe reformed manie grosse errors in the same by Barnes" the printer of the Oxford edition "commytted" (SR II, 793-40). Their plea was successful, but the summary treatment which they received shows how dangerous, when dealing with a book by a person of influence, careless printing could be.

The size of an edition of an unprivileged book was restricted, by a regulation of the Company designed to provide sufficient work for the compositors, to 1250 or at the most to 1500 (*Records*, ed. Greg and Boswell, pp. lvi, 25). Except in the case of books of a learned character, the maximum size of an edition, we have every reason to believe, was the normal one. As an old wooden handpress could hardly have printed and perfected more than 1000 sheets a day (Willoughby, *Printing of First Folio*, p. 27) the work must have progressed quite slowly, a fact which explains in part the length of time which often elapsed between the registration of a book and publication. Sometimes, however, there was special need for haste. On these rare occasions the printing of the book was divided between shops. Sir Lewis Stuckley and the Court party in general, after the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, were so eager to get before the public an apology for their

conduct, *The Humble Petition and Information of Sir Lewis Stuckley touching his owne Behaviour in the Charge committed unto him, for the bringing up of Sir Walter Raleigh and the scandalous Aspersions cast upon him for the same* (1618), that the King's Printers, Bonham Norton and John Bill, "were fain to watch 2 nights and set 20 presses" which amounted to almost half the presses in London "aworke at once" (*Fortescue Papers*, Camden Soc., 1871, n.s. I, p. 67).

The printing of the book finally having been completed, the stationer would next have to consider the problem of marketing. If the printer produced the book for another stationer and was paid in cash for his work, he delivered the book in sheets to the bookseller, reserving only one copy for each journeyman who had been engaged upon it, a gratuity to which they were by custom entitled (SR IV, 22). The bookseller then usually proceeded to sell copies to other stationers or to trade them off for copies of other books in the stocks of his competitors (cf. SR I, 216-8, II, 785, §10b, III, 832, 835). Sometimes, indeed, the copyright of an especially desirable work would be allowed to a stationer only with the proviso that "he shall not refuse to exchange these Bookes with the Company for other good Wares" (SR III, 303). Often, we may be certain, the printer received part or all of his pay in copies of books; but many printers found that book-selling interfered with the more remunerative side of their vocation.

As soon as the book was published, copies of the title-page would be set up on posts all about London as an advertisement of the work. It is largely for this reason that the title-page of an Elizabethan or Jacobean book, other than a learned one, was usually composed by the publisher and contained besides the title a commendation of the work, thus resembling the dust-jacket of a present day book rather than a modern title-page. It normally contained also the name of the printer (sometimes represented only by his initials or omitted altogether), the name of the publisher and usually the publisher's address, and the date.

Often, of course, the printer published his own books and sold them both to the public and to other stationers. Sometimes, however, he would make arrangements with the author and would register and print the book, but would have another stationer act as chief bookseller of the edition. In this case the name of the bookseller would usually appear on the title-page, very often after the formula "and sold by".

Not only did publishers make use of title-pages to advertise their books, but authors engaged in controversies seem occasionally to have used them to irritate their opponents. In 1631, William Foster, Parson of Hedgeley, published a book entitled, *Hoplocrisma-spongius : or, A Sponge to wipe away the Weapon-Salve : A Treatise wherein is proved, that the cure late-taken among us, by applying the Salve to the Weapon, is Magicall and Unlawful*, in

which he attacked the Rosicrucian, Dr. Robert Fludd, who, following Paracelsus, urged the curious doctrine that a wound might be healed by the application of salve to the weapon which caused it. Foster, strange to say, did not object to the proposed remedy on the ground that it was inefficacious, for he admitted that it would cure, but because such healing was, in his opinion, performed by a diabolical agency, a rather serious charge even after the death of James I. To this book Dr. Fludd in self-defence wrote his *Answer unto M. Foster, or, The Squeasing of Parson Fosters Sponge* (1631), in the preface of which he makes this complaint concerning the actions of his opponent: "I have perceived his indiscreet importunity to extend it selfe so farre as to urge me beyond the bounds of patience by setting up in the night time two frontispieces or Titles of his booke, as a Challenge one on each post of my doore".

The book, after being distributed and advertised, would be retailed by the different booksellers who had taken copies. In front of their masters' shops in the bookselling centres in and about St. Paul's Churchyard and on Fleet Street apprentices would stand and shout at the passers-by, "What lack you, gentleman? See a new book come forth, sir?"

The Elizabethan and Jacobean book-buyer, like his modern brother, preferred recently printed books. When a book had lain on the hands of the publisher too long, the stationer was apt to change the title-page in order to deceive the public into

believing that his wares were fresh. When Barnaby Rich's *A New Description of Ireland*, which Jaggard had printed for Thomas Adams in 1610, had remained unsold for fourteen years so long as to belie its title Francis Constable, into whose possession the remainder of the edition had fallen, substituted a new title-page bearing the title *A New Irish Prognostication*, his own name as publisher and the date 1624, but omitting the author's name, in order to trick his patrons into buying the book. The different issues of the first edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, later in the century, are a more famous instance of this practice.

Unfortunately, for a considerable time, a prospective purchaser of a book upon a particular subject had no better guide to the books available for purchase in London than the memory of his bookseller. There was needed, therefore, a register of the books in print in London, and the bookseller, Andrew Maunsell, encouraged by the Stationers' Company, published in 1595 his *Catalogue of English Printed Books*, a work which unfortunately he never finished (*Records*, ed. Greg and Boswell, pp. lv, 54). In 1618, William Jaggard began a semi-annual book-trade journal, *A Catalogue of Suche English Books as lately have beene, or now are in printing for publication*. As only one copy of the first number has survived, however, it is impossible to say how long the publication of it was continued. In the previous year, a catalogue of the foreign books which had been imported from the book-fair at

Frankfurt had been begun by Bonham Norton, and from 1622 to 1628 John Bill issued every spring and autumn a catalogue of the English books which were sold at the Frankfurt mart. This list, of course, did not include items of merely local interest.

Books were usually sold unbound and at prices which were regulated by the Company. In 1598 the Court of Assistants ordered that no books in pica letters without pictures should be sold for more than two sheets for a penny, nor books in brevier or long primer letters for a penny and a half (*Records*, pp. 58-9). These regulations were evidently later modified; during the first quarter of the seventeenth century the price of a book averaged about a penny a sheet. A quarto play, for example, usually sold for sixpence.

Outside of London, books were retailed by provincial stationers. They were also sold at the different fairs which were held in many places throughout the country and at the great international book-mart which was held every spring and autumn at Frankfurt. Books were not permitted to be hawked through the streets of London, but there is every reason to believe that ballad mongers, the legitimate descendants of the mediaeval book pedlars, sold small, popular books in the country. When printers pirated the copyrights of other stationers, they usually produced large editions and sold them in the country at fairs and by means of these petty chapmen (cf. SR II, 779).

The ballad monger was the Elizabethan equivalent of our modern newspaper vendor. Any important event, such as a murder, execution, fire, flood or monstrous birth and many which were neither important nor real was quite certain to be narrated in jogging verse adorned with some vapid moralizing, printed often with a crude woodcut illustration and then sung and hawked throughout the kingdom. If topical events were lacking, classical, scriptural or moral stories were sometimes substituted. The amount of printing involved in the production of these popular broadsides must have been considerable and doubtless supplied printers with a large amount of work which could be done at convenient times. Sometimes ballads, just like our modern newspapers, would have the price printed upon them.¹

After the printing had been completed and the work had been published, the printer, we have reason to believe, usually retained the copy with the censor's licence endorsed upon it as a proof that he had printed the work as it had been authorized (cf. Vincent, *Discoverie of Errours*, 1622, sig. ¶ 6 v). If the work sold well, the publisher would usually order further editions to be printed and the copyright of a fast selling book might prove of

¹ For interesting accounts of the Elizabethan ballad and its sellers see C. H. Firth, "Ballads and Broadsides" in *Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Sir Walter A. Raleigh, Sir Sidney Lee and C. T. Onions (Oxford, 1916, 2 v), II. 511-38, and Matthias A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476-1622* (Philadelphia, 1929), pp. 189-203.

considerable value. Copyrights were bought and sold quite freely and, as we have previously observed, these transfers were usually but not always entered in the Register of the Stationers' Company. As a rule, the transfer would be a simple one. The memorandum would merely state that the book was entered for the "copy" of the new proprietor by the consent of the former owner. Transfers, however, were sometimes conditional. Not infrequently a printer who desired to diminish or to terminate his publishing activities would assign certain of his copyrights to a bookseller with the proviso that he should "have the workmanship thereof, Doing it as cheape as an other man" (SR 1v, 46). Less frequently, instead of selling the copyright one stationer would transfer his rights to another on the condition that a specified royalty be paid him upon the printing of each edition (SR 11, 82).

Besides the producing of books and broadsides, the printers of the age of Elizabeth and James did a considerable amount of job printing, including printed forms (such as apprentice indentures) and posters for advertising. A few printers, among whom were both William Jaggard and his son Isaac, did public printing for the Court, Church or City.

The printer in England of the time of William Jaggard, then, was a small craftsman employing as a rule between four to eight journeymen and one or two apprentices (cf. SR 11, 768). The business,

however, was a profitable one. Although the journeymen might sometimes suffer from unemployment, the master printer was usually able to earn a comfortable livelihood and to take his rank as an upper middle class citizen of London (cf. McKerrow in *The Library*, 1929, 4 ser., x, 146). The bookseller was no doubt less fortunate, yet in all probability he fared as well, if not better, than the average grocer or draper. Certainly we find men of other city companies leaving their trades to become booksellers.

For literature see R. B. McKerrow, "Booksellers, Printers and the Stationers' Trade" in *Shakespeare's England*, II. 212-39; D. Nichol Smith, "Authors and Patrons", *ibid*, II 182-211; H. G. Aldis, "The Book Trade" in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, IV. (1909), 432-73; A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates* (Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1920); Evelyn M. Albright, *Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640* (New York, 1927); W. W. Greg, "The First Folio and its Publishers" in *Studies in the First Folio written for the Shakespeare Association* (London, 1924), pp. 129-59 and Introduction, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company*, ed. W. W. Greg and E. Boswell (London, Bibliographical Soc., 1930).

CHAPTER III

YOUTH

OF the parents of William Jaggard very little is known. His father, John Jaggard, was a barber-surgeon dwelling in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate. Of him we catch but one glimpse. On the 15th of November 1569, and later on the 18th of April 1570, he appeared before the Court of his Company because of a dispute concerning the office of Warden of the Yeomanry of the Company. The Court ended the matter by bidding John Jaggard and the two other barber-surgeons involved in the case to take one another's hands and to live in brotherly affection, and warning them that "these matters must never be reported any more hereafter". This warning, we are sorry to say, was unheeded by John Jaggard's two associates, John Warren and John Wyllet, who on the 23rd of May 1570 found themselves "comytted to warde for dysobedyence" (Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, pp. 282-3).

John Jaggard was dead by 1584, the date of the entry of his sons upon their apprenticeship. On the 25th of January 1585-6 William Morley of Saint Gregory's Parish, London, merchant, and "Bridget Jaggard, widow of St. Botolphs Aldersgate,

relict of John Jaggar, late of same, barber-surgeon " were granted a licence by the Bishop of London to marry in any church in the diocese (*Harleian Soc.* 1887, xxv, 145).

Into what station in society was the future printer of Shakespeare's First Folio born? The answer is somewhat uncertain. By an act of Parliament in 1540, Henry VIII granted to the Barber-Surgeons' Company a charter which united the barbers and surgeons of London into one guild, but at the same time separated them as to functions. Barbers were forbidden to practise any form of surgery other than the drawing of teeth and the letting of blood¹ and surgeons were forbidden to practise barbery. Of barbers London had more than the trade could support and, with the exception of those attached to the households of a few great men, their earnings must have been meagre. Surgeons, no doubt, fared somewhat better. Thomas Gale, to be sure, in his *An Institution of a Chirurgion* (1563) says of the profession, "Few that have wel brought up their sonne will put him to the arte bicause it is accounted so beggerly and vile".² But on the other hand, surgeons were considered of

¹ It is of interest to remember that the red and white striped pole which now serves as a sign of the tonsorial profession is a vestige of the red rod wiapped with bandages which formed a part of the professional equipment of the barber when he extracted teeth, let blood, and even performed more serious surgical operations

² Quoted from Sir D'Arcy Power, "The Education of a Surgeon under Thomas Vicary" in *The British Journal of Surgery*, VIII (1921), 243.

sufficient importance to be exempted from bearing armour and from serving on juries and inquests, and instances are not lacking of surgeons having attained' wealth. We should like to believe, because William Jaggard printed books upon surgery, that his father followed that profession, and the fact that John Jaggard's sons were able to enter one of the better companies and to go into business for themselves soon after finishing their terms of apprenticeship, lends some weight to a conjecture that he did, but at all events we have no reason to assume that John Jaggard's position in society was more than that of a simple craftsman earning his livelihood by his own skill.

William Jaggard was born probably a few years after Shakespeare, about 1568 (cf. SR I, XII, II, 129, v, xxxix). Reared in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, outside of the walls, in a district less congested than the city and within a few minutes' walk of the open fields, William grew to young manhood. His future trade demanded that he be able to read and write English ; but of Latin, which formed so important a part of a sixteenth century student's course of study, Jaggard, according to his pastor and client, Edward Topsell, wanted "true knowledge" (*Historie of Serpents*, 1608, sig. A 5v), and this statement is amply supported by the typographical errors in his books. He was bound by law to attend Sunday morning and evening services in his parish church and we may picture him sitting with the other boys in the gallery where

a man was paid by the parish to keep the Elizabethan youth in order,¹ and if we may judge from his aptitude for making biblical allusions, as found in his preface to Vincent's *Discoverie of Errours* composed in 1622, the year before his death he evidently paid attention to the services.

The earliest surviving document which contains the name of William Jaggard seems to be the memorandum in the records of the Stationers' Company of his indenture of apprenticeship dated the 20th of August 1584. "William Jaggard sonne of John Jaggard, late citzen and barborsurgeon of London, Deceased hat put him self Apprentice unto Henry Denham citzen and Staconer of London for eight yeres from the feast of Sanct Mychaell the Archangel nowe next coming" [29 September 1584] (SR II, 126).

A better master than Henry Denham would be difficult to obtain in London for a young man who desired to learn the printing trade. Henry Denham, along with John Day and Henry Bynneman, was a leader in a brief renaissance of good printing which arose in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. He was an old and experienced printer with a large, well equipped shop. Both his composition and press work judged by current English standards, at least were excellent. His supply of type was extensive and well selected and his ornamental

¹ Cf the Churchwardens' Accounts of St Botolph's Parish, Guild Hall Library, MS 1455/1. The surviving accounts begin with 1639 but there is every reason to believe that the practice alluded to was practised much earlier.

initial letters are still famous. Denham's office, too, was large and organized for mass production. In 1583, the year before Jaggard entered the office, he was returned as having four presses twice the maximum number owned by ordinary printers and in 1574, because of the increased work which his recently acquired patents for printing the Psalter, the Primer for little children, and books of private prayer in English and Latin had brought him, he engaged seven young freemen of the Company to help him. In fact Thomas Norton, in his correspondence with George Goring, cites Denham as the outstanding example of a good workman (SR II, 776).

Jaggard, then, learned his trade in a large, well conducted office which was doing some of the best printing in London. From his master he acquired, in all probability, his fondness for printing large folios and, most important of all, his facility for speedy production which undoubtedly formed the basis for his success in business.

As Jaggard's apprenticeship was drawing to a close his master, so the evidence seems to indicate, was withdrawing from business. On the 1st of December 1589 he made his last entry of a book in the Stationers' Register; on the 4th of July 1590 he attended for the last time (if our record is complete) a meeting of the Court of the Company. By 1595 he had ceased printing and had ceased so suddenly that he left unfinished an edition of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, which was completed, with the

consent of the Court of the Company, by his principal successor, Peter Short. By 1590 we find Peter Short and Richard Yardley using one of Denham's marks.¹ Whether at that time they were already his successors, or whether he was a silent partner, we cannot determine. On the 6th of December 1591, nine months before the term of the apprenticeship was out, Henry Denham presented William Jaggard at a full court and he was made free of the Company. It is quite probable that Denham was leaving business and that his terminating of Jaggard's apprenticeship was one of the final steps in that proceeding; at least, it seems to be the last recorded action of his life. It may be, however, as we shall see (Chapter VIII) that Denham was related by marriage to Jaggard and therefore made him free as soon as possible out of regard for his kinship. But this explanation, though possible, on the strength of the evidence we now have, does not seem probable.

¹ *Records*, ed Greg and Boswell, pp 34, 51, 55; see also S P. Thompson, "Peter Short" in *Bibliographical Soc Trans.* IV. (1897), 118, R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640* (Bibl Soc 1913), p 170

CHAPTER IV

FIRST EFFORTS AS A PUBLISHER

AT sometime between December 1591 and April 1593 William Jaggard set up a shop, probably only a shed, in the east end of the Churchyard of Saint Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street. It was in a bookselling district. Close by was Richard Tottell's establishment, the Hand and Star, where his brother, John Jaggard, of whom we shall speak more hereafter, was employed.

On the 23rd of April 1593, soon after he went into business, Jaggard petitioned the Court of Assistants of the Stationers' Company for the privilege of printing the posters by which the players advertised their performances. This valuable privilege had been granted on the 30th of October 1587 to John Charlwood, who had recently died (SR II, 477). Jaggard evidently hoped to obtain a free grant of the privilege but in this he was disappointed, for the Court cautiously decided that if he could obtain Widow Charlwood's consent, or if she should die, or marry out of the Company, they would "have consideracon to prefer him in this sute before another" (*Records*, pp. lvii, 46). Alice Charlwood, in fact, married without delay another stationer, James Roberts, and on the 31st of May of the following year the privilege of printing players' bills along with sundry

other of Charlwood's rights were transferred to her new husband (SR II, 652). Jaggard, we can be quite certain, did not at this time possess a printing press but had he obtained this privilege he would no doubt have made an arrangement with a printer to produce the "players billes" while he took care of the commercial details of the enterprise. The suit which by the fact that it was even made shows that young William Jaggard possessed some influence in the Company came to nothing, and it was not until over nine years later (on the 13th of December 1602) that James and Alice Roberts rented to him the privilege of printing the bills of the Earl of Worcester's or Queen Anne's men.

Nevertheless, young William Jaggard was beginning a promising career. He had probably already removed his residence to the parish of St. Bride's, perhaps to one of the dwellings in Leg Alley, Fleet Street (see below, Chapter XI) and was sufficiently prosperous to think of marriage. On the 26th of August 1594 he married at the parish church of St. Bride's a "Jayne Vrique". On the 19th of April of the following year was baptized in the same church his son, Isaac.

The earliest surviving publication issued by Jaggard is a small pamphlet by John Dove, a clergyman lacking preferment, *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse the 3. of November 1594, intreating the Second Coming of Christ and the disclosing of the Antichrist . . .* "Imprinted by Peter Short for William Jaggard and are to be sold at his shop in fleet-

street in Saint Dunstanes Church-yard". The book was not registered but we have every reason to believe that the copy was obtained in an honourable fashion. The volume bears the author's dedication to a boy, Francis Georges, and Master Dove, who later published several other books, no doubt rejoiced to see his first work in print. In fact, he probably prepared from his notes of a discourse which required two hours to deliver (sig. A 5 r) this shorter version for publication. The pamphlet was no doubt intended for a quick sale, to capitalize the interest aroused by a sermon which appealed to the Puritan feeling of the middle class Londoner by attacking the Pope as the Antichrist, and to the somewhat morbid religious curiosity of the populace by presenting evidence that the end of the world was so imminent that it might befall before the death of the aged Queen (sig. C 5 v).

On the 4th of March of the following year Jaggard made his first entry in the Stationers' Register "The Booke of Secretes of Albartus Magnus of the vertues of herbes, stones and certain beastes, Alsoe a booke by the same authore of the marvelous things of the world and of certain effects caused by certain beastes being all in one book &c" (SR II, 672). The book had been previously published in English as early as 1549, but no copy is extant of an edition issued between about 1570 to 1595; so Jaggard no doubt had seized upon it as derelict.

The work appears with a carefully worded preface: "Use this booke for thy recreation (as thou

art wont to use the booke of Fortune) for assuredly there is nothing herein promised but to further thy delight ” ; but we may be confident that many of the Elizabethan purchasers bought it in serious belief of its occult powers. Of all the books printed or published by the Jaggard press, with the exception only of the plays of Shakespeare, the stories of Boccaccio and perhaps the essays of Bacon, this collection of fantastic superstition erroneously ascribed to Albertus Magnus has to-day the widest circulation. One need but go to almost any small bookshop in the poorer districts of the large cities of Europe or America to find for sale cheap, crudely illustrated, paper-bound copies of *The Select Egyptian Secrets of Albertus Magnus*. Present day editions, however, often contain charms for causing sickness and death to one's enemies and similar bits of useful information which, of course, would not be tolerated in England in the reign of King James. Jaggard, although he did not realize that the first book which he formally registered would attain such a lasting popularity, soon discovered that he possessed a copyright of considerable commercial value. Three editions of this work published by William Jaggard (1595, 1599, 1617) and one by his son (1626) are still extant, and as small, cheap, popular books of this sort are among the least likely to survive, it is extremely probable that other editions now lost were also published.

In 1595, also, Jaggard published his first book of verse, *Hunnies Recreations* by William Hunnis, a

work which had been issued by Denham in 1588 (SR II, 481 ; Maunsell, *Catalogue* I, 61) and was printed for Jaggard by Denham's successor, Peter Short, who no doubt owned the copyright. This duodecimo volume of very mediocre poetry was more pretentious than the other two books and Jaggard evidently prepared for the emergency of a poor sale by having an additional title-page fixed before the last section of the work, so that, if necessary, the book could be divided and the parts sold separately.

Although no books published by William Jaggard between the years 1595 to 1599 are, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, now extant, we have, nevertheless, every reason to believe that he was prospering. Business was sufficiently brisk to warrant his taking apprentices. In 1595 he accepted as apprentice a Lincolnshire lad, Launcelot Griffin, and in 1597 Thomas Cotes, a Yorkshire boy who was in time to succeed to the ownership of Jaggard's establishment (SR II, 204, 222). One book also was registered during this period, "The true perfection of Cuttwoorkes" entered on the 23rd of January 1598 (SR III, 101), but as this probably was a pattern book it is not surprising that no copy is now known.

CHAPTER V

THE PIRACY OF *THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME*

AN indication that, despite the lack of extant publications by Jaggard for the years 1596 to 1598, he had been prospering during this period in his bookselling business may be found in the fact that in 1599 he was able to undertake the issue of three works, one of them a somewhat expensive and slow selling book, Thomas Hill's *The Schoole of Skil*, a thick quarto volume on astronomy and mathematics. Jaggard had obtained the copy of the work of this hack writer with the consent, so he hints, of the deceased author's friends, and before having the work printed he sought the advice of learned men as to its value. We have no reason to doubt the statement in the preface, signed with Jaggard's initials, that the book was printed and the figures drawn from the author's own copy, and although the work was not entered in the Stationers' Register, there is again no reason to suspect piracy. For the printing of this book Jaggard employed Thomas Judson, who probably printed another edition of Albertus Magnus, which was issued by Jaggard in this year.

In 1599, also, Jaggard perpetrated his first and most notable piracy, the publication under Shake-

speare's name of *The Passionate Pilgrime*. By this time Shakespeare had attained an established reputation as a dramatist, and his two long narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* (first published in 1593) and *Lucrece* (first published in 1594) were bringing fame to their author and steady profits to their publishers. About 1592-94 Shakespeare began circulating, in manuscript, his "sugred sonnets" (as Meres termed them) "among his private friends". The reputation of these sonnets, it is evident from Meres' praise, was high among the London *literati*, and if a publisher could obtain a copy of them (as Thomas Thorp did ten years later in 1609) there would be no doubt that, provided no attempt were made to stop the piracy, the publication would yield a ready profit.

Jaggard must have realized this when he came into possession, as in all probability he did, of a small manuscript commonplace book of verse, chiefly amorous, such as Elizabethan gentlemen were fond of compiling. Among them he found, no doubt with Shakespeare's name attached, two sonnets from the famous cycle and three sonnets from *Love's Labour's Lost*. Could he but pad out the volume so as to persuade prospective purchasers, particularly the young gallants from the Inns of Court who strayed past his shop daily, that they were offered for sale, the "sugred sonnets" of Shakespeare, Jaggard, as he himself quickly realized, would be in possession of a very saleable book.

He therefore began to arrange the copy of his intended new publication. The two sonnets from the cycle Jaggard of course placed first, and after them a sonnet from *Love's Labour's Lost*. The two remaining sonnets of that play were assigned the fifth and sixteenth places. Next in order of prominence to Shakespeare's own poems Jaggard placed a series of four sonnets (numbers 4, 6, 9 and 11) on the theme of Venus and Adonis by an unknown writer who had been influenced to a considerable extent by Shakespeare's treatment of the subject. From the commonplace book Jaggard obtained poems by Bartholomew Griffin, Richard Barnfield, Christopher Marlowe, Sir Walter Raleigh and others, and from the *Encomion of Lady Pecunia* by Richard Barnfield, published in the previous year by his brother John Jaggard, he added two more poems and it is of interest to note that in 1605 when he printed a second edition of *Lady Pecunia*, William Jaggard omitted from the book these two poems of Barnfield's which he had attributed to Shakespeare.

Before sending the manuscript to Judson, the printer, Jaggard induced William Leake, the owner of the copyright of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, to sell part of the edition for him. This was a clever move. Leake's shop would be the logical place to which lovers of Shakespeare's poems would go to inquire after new verses, and the name of that well-known publisher of Shakespeare on the title-page would aid greatly in conveying the impression

that all of the poems were by the dramatist. Jaggard coined a "catchy" title so that when the book was printed the title-page read, *The Passionate Pilgrime By W. Shakespeare. At London. Printed for W. Jaggard and are to be sold by W. Leake at the Greyhound in Paules Churchyard 1599.* A second title-page, *Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Musicke*, appears not far from the end of the book (on sig. C 3). No author is named here and the imprint is printed with the same setting of type which had printed that of the first title-page. This second title-page, in the present writer's opinion, was intended like those of Hunnis *Recreations* and John Jaggard's edition of Barnfield's *Encomion of Lady Pecunia* the imprints of which were printed in the same manner to enable the latter portion of the work to be sold separately should the sale prove slow. (The fact that the title-page appears in the middle of a gathering would not prevent the two parts from being separated as books of this size were sewed sidewise or "stabbed".) In order to make the book appear as pretentious as possible, Jaggard had Judson print it with wide margins and with large ornamental borders at the top and bottom of each page and, except for the last three leaves, each leaf is printed only on the recto side. By this expedient the little book, which contains but twenty short poems of which only five are by Shakespeare, was made to fill a pamphlet of thirty-two leaves (the first and last are blanks) and the unprinted pages, like the blank pages of a manuscript common-

place book which the publication no doubt resembled, were convenient for the purchaser who might desire to add other verses which struck his fancy.

Jaggard's venture, then, was in every way successful. He stole from several authors, but from each so lightly that evidently none of them felt sufficiently aggrieved to make trouble, especially as authors were familiar with having their poems inserted in anthologies though not under another poet's name. No protest seems to have been heard in connection with the second edition which is now lost unless it be represented by the fragments of an unknown edition which survive in an imperfect copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library and it was not until 1612 when the work reached a third edition, and then in connection with another matter, that an effective protest was uttered. In fact, no printer other than Jaggard attempted to print it until his successor, Cotes, included it in an edition of Shakespeare's *Poems* which was heavily padded with the works of other men (SR 1v, 487) for John Benson in 1640.

J. Q. Adams, *Life of William Shakespeare* (London 1923), pp. 63-7, 332-5; Sir Sidney Lee, *The Passionate Pilgrim being a Facsimile of the First Edition with Introduction* (Oxford, 1905) HARRY FARR, "Notes on Shakespeare's Printers and Publishers" with special Reference to the *Poems* and *Hamlet* in *The Library*, 4s., III (1923), 250-1; Richard Barnfield, *Poems*, ed by E. Arber (Birmingham, 1882; English Scholar's Library), pp. xix-xxii

CHAPTER VI

TROUBLE WITH THE GOVERNMENT

THUS far, as we have seen, Jaggard had published six books of which three were unregistered, but of these one only was pirated and no ill consequences befell the publisher because of it. In 1600, indeed, he came to grief over a "little booke" which was displeasing to the government. To understand this incident, however, we must examine Jaggard's relations with his brother John and with two other stationers, George Shaw and Ralph Blore.

John Jaggard, to judge from the shorter term of apprenticeship for which he was bound, was probably a year older than his brother, William. He was therefore born about 1567. On the 19th of October 1584 the apprenticeship of John Jaggard to Richard Tottell for the term of seven years from the 29th of September 1584 was registered in the books of the Stationers' Company (SR II, 129).

Like his brother, John Jaggard was fortunate in his master. Richard Tottell had been one of the original members of the new Stationers' Company, had served it as Master in 1579 and was filling a second term in that office when John Jaggard entered his shop. Tottell's establishment was large (he had three presses) but his technical skill as a

printer was far from high. As a business man, on the other hand, he was very successful. He was granted in 1553 a patent for the printing of law books which he issued in large numbers and sold "the same books at excessive prices, to the hinderance of a greate number of poore studentes". For the sale of law books the location of his shop, the Hand and Star, in Fleet Street between the Temple gates was most convenient to the Inns of Court with their great number of lawyers and students. Besides law books, however, Tottell also issued a number of literary works, chiefly by noble authors, and in his famous miscellany, *Songes and Sonnets written by Henry Haward* [i.e. Howard] *late Earle of Surrey and other* (1557), he inaugurated a long series of poetical anthologies issued by other publishers.

John Jaggard had not been in Tottell's office long, however, when the health of his master began to fail. On 11th of January 1586 Tottell entered his last book and on the 30th of September 1589 his continual absence from London was noted by the Court of Assistants of the Company (*Records*, p. 33). He died in 1593 at Wiston in Pembrokeshire, where he had retired. The business, however, was carried on in his name until the time of his death.

The disordered condition of Tottell's office may have delayed John Jaggard in the taking of his freedom, but a more probable cause was that he was content to stay in this position, and was therefore in no great haste to obtain his freedom. Indeed he remained at the Hand and Star during the re-

mainder of his life. On the 7th of August 1591 it was thus noted in the Register of Admissions of the Stationers' Company : " John Jagger sworne and admitted a freeman of the company who hath served out his yeres as reported by John Wolf who hath the report from younge Master Tottell dealer for his father " (SR II, 771).

At the death of Richard Tottell,¹ Charles Yetsweirt, Clerk of the Signet, was granted on the 24th of March 1594 a patent (confirming an earlier grant to the reversion of the privilege) for the sole printing of law books. He entered into some agreement with the heirs of Tottell and with John Jaggard and Yetsweirt, giving the Hand and Star as their business address. What actually happened, we may be quite certain, was that Yetsweirt, who had no printing experience and was still engrossed no doubt in his official and professional duties, entrusted John Jaggard with the conduct of the shop while he managed in a general way the outside business.

John Jaggard in all probability printed for himself in 1594 at Yetsweirt's press, Giacomina di Grassi's *True Arte of Defence*, which he entered two days before his new master had his patent confirmed to him. This work, which helped to introduce into

¹ For a life of Tottell see H. J. Byrom, " Richard Tottell His Life and Work " in *The Library*, 4s VIII (1927), 199-232. William Tottell, the printer's son, it is interesting to note, later became a Six Clerk in Chancery and the steward of the estates of Francis Lord Bacon (Frank Marcham, *William Shakespeare and his daughter, Susannah*, 1931, p. 12), some of which were quite close to the Hand and Star.

England the new Italian method of duelling, probably appealed to the young bloods of the Inns of Court who did not always permit the law to settle their quarrels.

On the 25th of April 1595 Charles Yetsweirt died, but the business was still carried on in the name of his widow, Jane Yetsweirt. Under the arrangement with the Yetsweirts, John Jaggard was evidently prospering, for in the stationers' assessment for ships of 3rd January 1596-7 John Jaggard was assessed five shillings while his brother had to pay but one (Stationers' Hall MS., Orders of Parliament & Lord Mayor, Liber A, fol. 70 b). In 1597, however, Jane Yetsweirt died and the patent for the printing of law books was made over on the 10th of March 1598-9 to Bonham Norton and Thomas Wight. Upon the death of Mrs. Yetsweirt the Hand and Star lost the right to print. This was no doubt a blow to John Jaggard, who had recently married, on the 5th of June 1597, at the church of Saint Dunstan's in the West, the daughter of a good middle class family, Elizabeth Mabbe. In the company's assessment list of 19th June 1598, John Jaggard was assessed but 2 shillings (*ibid.*, fol. 73a) while the name of his brother was bracketed with those of two other freemen of the Company, George Shaw and Ralph Blore, as liable for the total sum of 6 shillings (*ibid.* fol. 72 b). This joining together of the names on the list was an indication of partnership, though the term did not then necessarily indicate a close association.

George Shaw had served the first part of his apprenticeship under the disorderly printer, Roger Warde, the second part under Henry Denham, William Jaggard's former master, and the last part under Henry Middleton. He was made free of the Company on the 31st of January 1585 and began publishing in association with William Blackwall. Ralph Blore, the other partner of William Jaggard, had served his apprenticeship in the house of Richard Tottell with John Jaggard as one of his fellow apprentices. He was made free on the 3rd of October 1594, and soon after this he set up a shop near the Middle Temple gate, close to the Hand and Star and not far from William Jaggard's establishment.

Shaw was the first printer of this partnership but he seems to have printed for the space of only one year 1598. In that year he printed for himself Sir William Vaughan's *Erotopaignion pium* and *Poematum Libellus* and for John Jaggard, Richard Barnfield's *Encomion of Lady Pecunia*. This latter work has a total of four title-pages each with a full imprint printed with the same setting of type and quads. John, like his brother, evidently prepared for the emergency of a poor sale by being ready to divide his book into very small tracts with different titles, a device which Shaw had used in his own publications. Shaw also in all probability printed for William Jaggard in 1598 *The True Perfection of Cutworks* of which we have already spoken. After 1598 we hear nothing further of George Shaw, and William Jaggard, it is significant to observe, in

1599 entrusted the printing of *The Passionate Pilgrime* and Hill's *Schoole of Skil* to Thomas Judson. On the 25th of December 1599 John Jaggard and John Browne entered for their copy "Ovid Naso his Remedy of Love", but the work was evidently never published by them. Instead it appeared with an imprint reading simply "Printed by T. C." the initials of Thomas Creede. Such an imprint arouses a suspicion of piracy but it seems impossible to determine what actually occurred.

In 1600, John or William Jaggard obtained from the author's friends, for there is every reason to believe that the writer desired this propagandistic work published, a copy of *A True Report of Sir Anthony Shierlies Journey Overland to Venice, from thence by Sea to Antioch, Aleppo and Babilon and so to Casbine in Persia ; his entertainment there by the great Sophie : his oration : his letters of credence to the Christian Princes and the Priviledg obtained of the great Sophie for the quiet passage and trafique of all Christian Marchants throughout his whole Dominions*. Sir Anthony Sherley and his two brothers were picturesque adventurers. After performing a number of rather surprising exploits, Anthony married the cousin of the Earl of Essex, and to escape from the railings of his wife he "undertook any course that might occupy his mind from thinking on her variety of words". After leading an unsuccessful buccaneering expedition organized by Essex, he conducted, also at the instance of his wife's kinsman, a small company of English gentlemen, who started

out for the purpose of aiding Don Cesare d'Este in his claim to the dukedom of Ferrara. When the adventurers arrived in Venice, however, they found that Don Cesare had made his submission to the Pope who also laid claim to the duchy. Sherley, upon reporting this news to Essex, received instructions to make his way to Persia and to attempt to induce the Shah to ally himself with the Christian princes against the Turks. The mission was of course unauthorized, and before Sherley had arrived in Persia, his patron, Essex, had fallen from favour. The government promptly ordered its ambassadors and agents to repudiate Sherley's pretensions, and it was not pleased, we may be sure, when it learned that Essex's unaccredited envoy had obtained favoured terms for English traders and an offer from the Shah of an alliance with Christian rulers who desired to fight the Turk. Their enthusiasm was not increased by the fact that the merchants of London were conducting a flourishing trade with these ancient enemies of Christendom. When, therefore, Ralph Blore with the assistance of William Jaggard printed for John Jaggard Sherley's *Journey*, the partners almost certainly realized that the pamphlet, an apology for the author's conduct, would be regarded by the government officials as a reflection upon their own stand. The venturers, for this reason, did not present the book for perusal and entry at Stationers' Hall, nor did they place the name of either the printer or the publisher on the title-page, but simply the initials "R. B. for I. I."

The hopes which Blore and the Jaggards must have cherished that their pamphlet would escape governmental notice proved deceptive. On the 23rd of October 1600 both Ralph Blore and William Jaggard were haled before the Master and Wardens and were found guilty of printing a book "without license and contrary to order". Each was fined 6s. 8d. and the unsold copies of the book were by the command of the Master and Wardens brought into the Hall, no doubt to be destroyed. A term of imprisonment was also warranted by their offence, but this was "referred over to another time" or, to use the terms of modern penology, they were put on probation. As both of the defendants learned prudence by this episode, the imprisonment was never imposed. John Jaggard seems to have escaped without censure and two years later, on the 3rd of July 1602, was "sworne and admitted into the livery", but William Jaggard must have suffered somewhat of a blow though not a severe one. He paid no doubt but a portion of the cost of the printing of this small tract, and part of the edition had been sold before the officials discovered it. Of his fine Jaggard paid half upon sentence and half a year later on the 7th of September 1601.

CHAPTER VII

JAGGARD'S ESSAY AT AUTHIORSHIP¹

Of all trades printing and the book-selling are the closest allied to the production of literature, and publishers of all ages have been faced with the temptation to become authors. Elizabethan stationers, however, were not as a rule literary men. In their ranks were none who may be compared even remotely with such great scholar-printers as Robert Estienne or to such a devotee of polite letters as William Caxton or even to such a producer of the more popular forms of literature as Samuel Richardson. Those few stationers who did assume the rôles of authors as did, for example, William Seres who penned *An Aunswere to the Proclamation of the Rebels of the North* (1569), merely competed with the hack-writers whom they employed. William Jaggard's sole surviving literary production belongs to this uninspired class of literature.

In 1601 Jaggard associated himself with a man who was to be a life-long friend, Thomas Pavier, to produce a small folio book, *A View of all the Right Honorable the Lord Mayors of this Honorable Citty*

¹ The material for this chapter was derived from the Sotheby Catalogues for Dec. 10, 1923, item 170, and March 31, 1924, (Britwell Court Sale), item 448, and information kindly furnished by the Henry E. Huntington Library.



An. reg. 43. Sir Wil Ryder Haberdasher. 1600

I'His present yeare of our Lord, the gouernment of this Cittie by the ful consent and auncient custome of our Cittizens, was committed to sir Willyam Ryder, now Lord Mayor of this Honourable cittie of London. Of whose worthinesse in his place euery eie may witnesse, whose care in maintenance of the good of this cittie, sheweth it selfe dayly by his great paines taking, in reformation of an olde and long corruption rooted amongst men, in abusing the true use of waight and measure, and that his cares herein may bee the better remembred, he hath ordained in euery market place, common scales and waightes, wherein all men may find out fraud and deceit with the author thereof, Also his diligent eye for his princes seruice hath bin quicke & worthy the trust to him committed.

{ Skaffer } Thomas Cambell
William Craven. }

PORTRAIT AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SIR WILLIAM RYDER,
from Jaggard's *VIEW OF THE LORD MAYORS*
(from the unique copy in the Henry L. Huntington Library
Reproduced by permission)

of London With the personages, and also such chiefe occasions as happened in every severall mayors time, as also their charitable gifts as set downe and the places of their burials. Beginning at the first year of her majesties happy raigne, and continued to this present yeare 1601, by W. I. of London Printer. Printed at London for William Jaggard and Thomas Pavier and are to be sold at his house in Cornhill at the signe of the cat and two Parats 1601. The work consists of a series of short biographies of about twelve lines, each placed below a woodcut engraving of a mayor and surrounded by an elaborate border bearing the arms of the City and of the company of which the dignitary was a member. The portraits could hardly have been authentic as the forty-five biographies are illustrated by eleven cuts and most of the cuts, therefore, were used several times. To create the appearance of bulk Jaggard and Pavier instructed the printer to print but one side of the leaf, of all the leaves except the first which bears the title and dedication a device formerly employed in *The Passionate Pilgrime*.

The book is dedicated by Jaggard, who describes himself as a "poore citizen" presenting "the first fruit" of his labours, to the Lord Mayor then in office, Sir William Ryder, who distinguished himself in the suppression of Essex's rebellion. The cut for his portrait is used but once and is probably an attempt to represent a true likeness.

The book, it should be noted, bears only the address of Pavier. Though Jaggard describes

himself as “Printer” it must not be concluded that he had a press. Michael Sparke, another author-stationer, placed the same word after his initials on the title-page of his *Crumbs of Comfort* (1628), yet we know he never printed. “Print”, in fact, was often used then as it is even now in popular parlance in the sense of “publish”. Jaggard’s work, it is interesting to note, was roughly copied by Thomas Trevelyon into a manuscript scrapbook which he compiled in 1608. One copy only of the sole known literary work of the printer of Shakespeare’s First Folio now survives; it is preserved in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRINTING HOUSE IN BARBICAN

BETWEEN the years of 1600 to 1602 inclusive, we find no record of William Jaggard having published anything other than his *View of the Lord Mayors*, and it may be significant that in that book Pavier's address only appears on the title-page. Also in the last book which another stationer printed for him, an interesting manual of religious guidance entitled *The Anathomie of Sinne* (sometimes attributed to the future bishop, Joseph Hall), there is no address at all; the imprint simply reads, "London, Printed for W. Jaggard, 1603". It is probable, nevertheless, but not certain, that Jaggard retained his shop in St. Dunstan's Church-yard during this period. There is every reason to conclude, however, that Jaggard was prospering in his business. On the 5th of May 1600 he had bound to him as apprentice, Francis Langley, and on the 25th of October 1602 another, Thomas Greene. As Thomas Cotes did not take his freedom until the 21st of January 1606 and remained with him throughout his term finally becoming free on the 3rd of October 1607 it is evident that Jaggard for a while, at least, had three apprentices, a number ordinarily allowed only to upper-Wardens and Masters of the Company.

Jaggard continued to keep up his interest in bill-poster printing. On the 13th of December 1602 he rented of James Roberts and his wife, Alice Charlwood, the right to print bills for Queen Anne's or the Earl of Worcester's Players (Stationers' Hall MS., Court Book C, fol. 1a).

The right of "The onleye printing of all manner of Billes for players" had been granted to John Charlwood on the 30th of October 1587 "by the whole consent of Thassistantes" with the proviso "yat yf any trouble aryse herebye then Charlwood shall beare the charges". On the death of Charlwood, his widow, we may be certain, did not lack suitors for, though she could hardly have possessed youth and beauty, she had the more substantial attractions of a printing office with two presses. In 1593, the same year in which her first husband died, Alice Charlwood married a man of about her own age, James Roberts.

Before this advantageous marriage Roberts had been, ever since his admission as a freeman of the Company on the 27th June 1564, a simple stationer. At first he did business in a small way, as a dealer in ballads, probably in wholesale lots to petty chapmen, but later in 1588 along with Richard Watkins he was granted the exclusive privilege of printing almanacs and prognostications and from that time he no doubt did business on a larger scale. Upon his marriage with Alice Charlwood, Roberts came into a limited possession of the printing house in Barbican and John Charlwood's copyrights, in-

cluding the players' bills (SR II, 651-2). The printing of these bills, so it is generally believed, brought him into close contact with Lord Chamberlain's (later the King's) Players for whom he performed a valuable service by entering Shakespeare's plays in the Hall book of the Stationers' Company in order to forestall piracy.¹ Notable among the books which he printed after his marriage are the First Quarto of *The Merchant of Venice* (1600), the Second Quarto of *Titus Andronicus* and the Second Quarto of *Hamlet* (1604).

There are evidences, however, that by 1602 Roberts, who was then aged about sixty-two years, was beginning to withdraw from business. Already many of his almanacs were printed "by the Assigns of James Roberts". Either he or Charlwood had perhaps rented or sold to John Windet the right to print the play bills for the King's Company ; at least for the only surviving² bill of the period "The Plot of the Play called *England's Joy* to be played at the Swan this 6 of November 1602" was printed, as the types and ornament show, by Windet. Robert's action in renting the right to print the bills of Worcester's or Queen Anne's Company to Jaggard was no doubt a part of this withdrawal.

¹ A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, pp. 34-5, 67, 78 ; *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of his Text*, pp. 43-52.

² Preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, reproduced by W. Martin in *The Selbourne Magazine* XXIV. (1913), 19, and by W. J. Lawrence in *The Elizabethan Playhouse* (Stratford-on-Avon, 1912-13, 2 V), II, facing p 681.

Jaggard probably had some printer, most likely Blore, undertake the printing of the bills for the two dramatic companies. Soon, however, he convinced James Roberts of the advisability of sharing his office with him. It is too much to assume that they became partners in the modern sense of the word ; it is just as likely, instead, that Jaggard paid Roberts a rental for the part use of his office. At any rate, during the years 1604 to 1606 books bearing the imprint of Jaggard and that of Roberts were issued from the press.

That William Jaggard should have been able to attain the ambition of every stationer in London to conduct a printing office of his own is somewhat surprising. Despite the indications of Jaggard's increasing prosperity, we could hardly have expected him to be in a position to pay in cash the value of the printing house in Barbican. Two events, however, may have rendered him considerably more wealthy in 1606 than he was, let us say, in 1600. On the 26th May 1604 the king issued a warrant directed to all the archbishops and bishops of the realms of England and Ireland commanding them "to give order that in every Church and chappel a Table of the Ten Commandments may be set up by Willm Jaggard his deputies or assignes at the charge of the parish and that the said Jaggard nor his deputies take above XVd. sterling for every of the said tables" (P.R.O. : S.P. 38/7). It is useless to speculate how William Jaggard became the recipient of royal favour, especially after the episode

of *Shierlies Journey*, but it is apparent that the boon was a substantial one. The number of tables sold, provided the order was carried out and there is no reason to believe that it was not must have been large for there were about 9000 parish churches in England alone. The proportionate profits also must have been considerable. The Ten Commandments would occupy, in all probability, not more than one sheet of paper and could no doubt therefore be produced even upon good paper for a penny a sheet. Jaggard, having a monopoly, would probably charge the maximum price permitted 15d. (translated into modern purchasing power 12s. 6d.). Even if some transportation costs were involved, Jaggard's profits must have been ample. Jaggard's profits, however, we may be quite certain, were not undivided. Someone at the court no doubt received a portion. Sir Francis Carleton, writing to Shakespeare's friend and fellow-actor, Edward Alleyn, tells him that he needs some money in order that his prospective son-in-law whom he desires to advance "may be enabled happeley to bestow som gratuities for yow and I knowe that places in Courte fall not into mens mouthes for gaping" (J. P. Collier, *Mem. of Edward Alleyn*, Shak. Soc., 1841, p. 95). To obtain this very profitable monopoly Jaggard, too, we may be confident, also bestowed "som gratuities".

Again, on 30th of May 1605 an administration was granted on the estate of Elizabeth Denham, of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, widow, deceased, the

property passing to her natural and legitimate nephew, William Jaggard. We cannot be certain, unfortunately, that this William Jaggard is the future printer of Shakespeare's First Folio. The name Jaggard is not a common one, but unless John and William Jaggard were the sons of different mothers, the aunt of one would have been the aunt of the other. The fact that they were not coheirs inclines us to reject the identification of this nephew of Elizabeth Denham with the printer. If Elizabeth Denham were William's aunt, we should then be interested to learn if she were the widow of Henry Denham, his master. Unfortunately we do not know the name of Denham's wife or even if he ever married although we can be quite certain that he was dead by 1605. Unfortunately, too, there was probably at least one other Elizabeth Denham in London at the time. On the 13th of January 1586 Anthony Denham of Lincoln's Inn and Elizabeth Blanke, widow, of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, obtained a marriage licence from the Bishop of London and married at Clerkenwell three days later. Nevertheless, though we cannot consider it proved or even probable that Jaggard's advancement in his calling was due to a timely inheritance, we must keep it in mind as a possibility.

At all events, if the entry in Pollard and Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue* (item no. 12466) is correct, Jaggard was able in 1604 to print the earliest surviving book issued under his name, the second edition of the *Anathomie of Sinne*, under the

title of *Two Guides to a Good Life*. It is not unlikely also that he printed the Ten Commandments broadsides at Roberts' shop.

Jaggard now had returned to his native parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate. The location of his shop was a good one. Situated on the corner of Aldersgate Street and Barbican,¹ two of the widest and sunniest streets of London, he was among good neighbours. Close by was the residence of the Conde de Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, whose influence with the king aroused the resentment of all the good puritans of London, and the town house of the Earl of Bridgewater. The shop, however, was removed somewhat from St. Paul's Churchyard and from Fleet Street, the two principal centres of the book-trade, and although book-sellers' shops were not altogether absent from the vicinity, the distance from these centres was no doubt one of the factors which influences Jaggard, after 1617, to reduce his book-selling activities. During the years 1605 and 1606 Jaggard and Roberts were dwelling in the same house, and books bearing the imprints of both were issued from the same press, although in no instance, as far as it is

¹ To give the argument for the determination of the location of the shop would be tedious. We shall content ourselves, therefore, by merely citing the evidence. The imprints of G. Ellis *Lamentation of the Lost Sheep* (1604), A. Favyn *Theater of Honour* (1623) and Th. Wilson, *Commentaries upon Romanes* (1628); *Gentleman's Magazine* LX pt 1 (1790), 23, note, and the following Aldersgate Ward assessment lists P R O . E 179-145/224, P R O . E 179-146/393, P R O : E 179-147/510, Guild Hall Library MS 1508/2.

known, were their names coupled together on a title-page.

Jaggard, during the two years in which he and Roberts occupied the same premises, produced a fair amount of work and his portion of the output of the press indicates that he was both shrewd in his selection of "copies" and energetic in his production of books. On 16th May 1605, he entered for his copy G. Ellis's *Lamentation of the Lost Sheepe*, a short religious poem characterized by a little more than a seemingly insincere lugubriousness. But this is balanced by a somewhat better piece of poetry, a pageant written by Anthony Munday *The Triumphs of a reunited Britanica* for the show which had been performed on the 29th of October 1605 to solemnize the entrance into the City of Sir Leonard Holliday as Lord Mayor. In the same year William Jaggard printed a second edition of Barnfield's *Lady Pecunia*, omitting, as we have noted, those poems which in the *Passionate Pilgrime* he had attributed to Shakespeare. This case with which William availed himself of John's book and gave it to John Hodgetts to sell for him is but one of the signs of the close relationship which remained between the two brothers after William had become a printer.

As John Jaggard had been on close terms with William ever since the death of Jane Yetsweirt, and the lives of the publisher and printer are so closely bound together, we may here briefly review the main activities of John Jaggard between 1599 and 1605. In 1600, besides the suppressed *Journey of*

Sir Anthony Sherley, he published, in partnership with Matthew Lownes, Tasso's *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (translated into English by Edward Fairfax). After this, he engaged himself largely in the publication of the works of the Italian diplomat and traveller Giovanni Botero. In 1601 he published a translation by Robert Johnson of his rather dull but compact geographical work, one issue of which is entitled *The Traveller's Breviat*, the other *The World, or An historical Description of the great and famous Kingdomes of the World*. This sold so well that in 1603 a second edition was called for and this time it was entitled *An Historical Description*. In 1602 John Jaggard published another work of Botero, his *Observations on the Lives of Alexander, Caesar and Scipio* and an historical and topographical treatise, Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*.

Three years then elapsed before John Jaggard issued his next known and extant book, George Saltern's treatise *Of the Antient Lawes of Great Britaine*, which John Jaggard and John Smethwicke had entered on the 20th of May 1605. This William Jaggard printed in the same year with his brother's name and address only in the imprint. This rather unimportant work because of its antiquarian nature probably did not conflict with Norton and Wight's privilege for printing law books.

Besides these extant books which William Jaggard printed in 1605 he may have issued "A Booke called the Prysoners conference" which he entered on the

26th of April 1605 but of which no copy seems to have survived.

During the greater part of 1606 Jaggard continued to occupy the printing house in Barbican with James Roberts. His output, however, increased. Early in that year began the association of the printer and one of his most steadfast clients, the puritan minister, William Attersoll. On the 11th of February 1606 William Jaggard and Nathaniel Fosbrooke entered Attersoll's treatise on the sacraments entitled *The Badges of Christianity*, which Jaggard issued in the same year as a rather thick, closely printed quarto volume. Another religious work, published in the same year, John Swynnerton's *Christian Love-letter*, is a tract of religious controversy directed to Catholics and filled with the stock arguments which were freely circulating at the time. He also printed a book much more pretentious than any he had yet attempted, a new translation by G. Wilkin of Pompeius Trogus's *Historie of Justine*. To this illustrated work probably belongs the doubtful distinction of being the most inaccurate piece of printing which Jaggard ever produced.

In this year also William Jaggard printed for his brother a most important work, Francis Bacon's *Essays*. This work had been entered by Humphrey Hooper in 1597. Hooper published two editions (1597 and 1598) and, although he is not known to have transferred the copy to John Jaggard, the latter evidently held the right though not uncontested. John Jaggard published other editions

in 1612 and 1613 (perhaps as many as three editions in that year) all printed by William Jaggard. His widow's claim to the right to this unentered book also was upheld on the 22nd of June 1625 by the Court of Assistants. On the other hand, at least one attempt to seize the copy was made in the life of John Jaggard ; in 1612 John Beale and William Hall were allowed to register the copy and to print an edition. It is not impossible that John Jaggard held the right of publishing Bacon's *Essays* from their author. His shop was quite close to Bacon's house, his old master's son was a steward of Bacon, and in 1618, as we shall see, Bacon interested himself in a petition which John Jaggard presented partly on the behalf of the poor stationers of London and partly on behalf of himself.

CHAPTER IX

INCREASING PROSPERITY

(ON the 10th of July 1606 James Roberts made his last entry in the Hall Book of the Company and after 1606 there is no further record of his having printed or published. We may conclude, then, that by the beginning of 1607 William Jaggard was in complete control of the printing house in Barbican and that Roberts either became the silent partner or sold out entirely to Jaggard. In fact, the transfer probably occurred late in 1606. Roberts had derived from Charlwood the right to print for Thomas Adams any edition of William Rastell's *Table of the Years of our Lord God and of the Kings of England* which he might publish (SR II, 596). Jaggard printed for Adams an edition of this work with the date 1607 on the title-page, but with the date 1606 in the colophon, facts which suggest that the printing of the volume was begun in the earlier year and that Roberts was no longer in active control of the press when it was printed.

It is possible that Roberts held an interest in the business until 1615, when a number of his copyrights were entered to Jaggard (cf. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, p. 180) but this conclusion we do not believe to be the correct one. Writing

in 1635, Sir John Lambe, then Dean of the Arches, states in a table of "The Master Printers of the Citty of London as they have succeeded each other in trade and place" that William Jaggard bought the business of Roberts in 1608 (SR III, 702). Lambe's notes are rough and inaccurate but it is not unlikely that Jaggard paid for the business in the year named. On the 27th of September 1609 Roberts drew from the Stationers' Company his first quarterly annuity of £12 10s., a fact that would support the conclusion that Roberts received payment for his business in the year stated by Lambe and that he invested the money with the Company. Roberts lived until the summer of 1618; he was paid his last annuity on the 23rd of June and his widow received a pension on the 27th of September of that year. (Stationers' Hall MS., "The book of Account of Moneys received from the account of the Stocke of the Privileges".) On the 18th of November 1611 he presented his son, Richard Roberts, to be made a freeman of the Company by patrimony, but no record seems extant of this son having conducted a business.

After 1606, then, we have every reason to believe that Jaggard, if not the sole owner, was at least in complete control of the press. The character of the output at once began to change. Roberts had printed for the most part small popular books, no doubt in as large editions as the Company allowed. He printed very largely also for other stationers, thus securing the profits of his printing at once.

Upon the assumption of control by Jaggard, we speedily realize that the establishment passed into the hands of a man with more capital than Roberts had or, at least, was willing to invest in the business. Jaggard bought new type to replace the worn founts of Roberts. Instead of the small popular books of Roberts, the press now began to issue large folios, the taste for which Jaggard no doubt had derived from his master, Henry Denham, and instead of printing for others, Jaggard was able to assume the publisher's risks as well and thus reap both the printer's and publisher's profits. Even in 1607, the first year of complete control, though books printed for other stationers form a substantial majority of the titles issued from Jaggard's press, these books were for the most part small and consumed much less time and capital than did the two folios and three quartos which he printed for himself. So energetically did Jaggard go into printing that his extant output for the year 1607 475 edition-sheets was only once exceeded and only once equalled during his career as a printer.¹

Early in the year Jaggard printed and published two religious works, a mystical and didactic poetical treatise on the nature of God by John Davies of

¹ An "edition sheet", which we shall adopt as a unit for measuring the output of the Jaggard press, equals a sheet (*i e* four folio pages, or eight quarto, sixteen octavo pages, etc.) multiplied by the number of copies in an edition. We do not know the number of copies in specific editions though the normal quantity was no doubt close to 1250 but we believe that for comparative purposes we may disregard this as the average number probably remained fairly constant

Hereford, *Summa Totalis*, and Richard Humphrey's *Conflict of Job*, both of which he registered on the 31st of December 1606. But the next two books in the probable order of publication were printed for Edward White. On the 6th of February 1607 the latter entered for his copy *A True Report of Certaine Overflowings of Waters in Summerset-shire*, the first of five newsbooks and ballads upon that subject which appear in the registers. He promptly took the copy to Jaggard, who of course printed it immediately. This finished, Jaggard at once turned his attention to an enlarged edition of this newsbook to which White had added later details of the disaster, *More Strange Newes of the late Overflowings of Waters*, which followed so closely after the first version that the type for the lower part of the title-page of the first newsbook was employed without resetting for the second. Later in the year, Jaggard printed for himself the *History* of Thucydides, the "copy" of which having become derelict he entered on the 2nd of July 1607 with the usual proviso that he pay two and a half per cent of the cost of production to the poor of the Company.

Besides these books, he printed for Simon Water-son and Cuthbert Burby the second edition of a work of the well-known puritan divine, Arthur Dent, a violently anti-Catholic commentary on Revelations, *The Ruine of Rome*, and for the Company of Stationers the still popular *Fruitfull Sermons* of Bishop Hugh Latimer. Probably, too, in this year he printed for Henry Gosson an undated second

edition of the *News from Rome* ascribed to a Signior Valesco, a marvellous prophecy of the downfall of the Turk, imperfectly disguised as news.

In 1607, too, Jaggard began his career as a dramatic publisher by issuing *A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse* by Thomas Heywood and *Westward Hoe* by Thomas Dekker and John Webster, both of which were sold for him by John Hodgetts with whom he already had had dealings. Neither work had been entered in the Hall Book, but as Heywood does not include the publication of *A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse* among his grievances against Jaggard in 1612, we may be quite certain that it was not pirated, nor have we any reason to believe that there was any dishonesty attached to the publication of *Westward Hoe*. Although the title-page does not bear the printer's name, it bears Jaggard's *Nosce teipsum* device and the state of the text suggests a regularly obtained copy.

The most important book, however, which Jaggard produced in 1607, and, from the point of view of illustration, without doubt the most important book of his entire career, was *The Historie of foure-footed Beastes . . . Collected out of all the Volumes of Conrad Gesner and all other Writers to this Present Day* by his pastor, Edward Topsell, Perpetual Curate of the Church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate and dedicated by him to his patron, Richard Neile, Dean of Westminster. This large folio book of 800 pages is profusely illustrated by spirited woodcut engravings which have been frequently reproduced.

The title-page, it may be noted in passing, is in two states, one decorated by the woodcut of a hyena, the other with that of a gorgon. This work again was not entered in the register despite the fact that production of the book must have cost considerable effort to the author and much expense to the printer.

In his preface Topsell states that he would be glad to have his readers point out the shortcomings of his book, provided they did so "learnedly and modestly": "If I shall be admonished" he says, "of my error in a few things, nay onely in one thing I presently will correct it without envy or mallice" (sig. ¶¶ 4 r). This invitation was evidently taken at its face value by a number of people. In the preface to *The Historie of Serpents*, which appeared in the following year, Topsell was forced to apologize for "the manifold escapes in the presse which turned and sometimes overturned the sence in many places (especially in the Latine :) which fault", Topsell says tactfully, "as it may in parte concerne me, so yet it toucheth another more deeply, yet are both of us excusable. He in wanting the true knowledge of the Latin tongue; and I, because of my employment in my pastorall charge, and both of us together because we were not so thorowly estated, as to maintaine a sufficient Scholler to attend only upon the Presse. Whereupon in this second Booke we have remooved away that blot, and used more accurate dilligence, and I trust there is no escape committed perverting the sence, and not very many altring the letters" (sig. A 5 v).

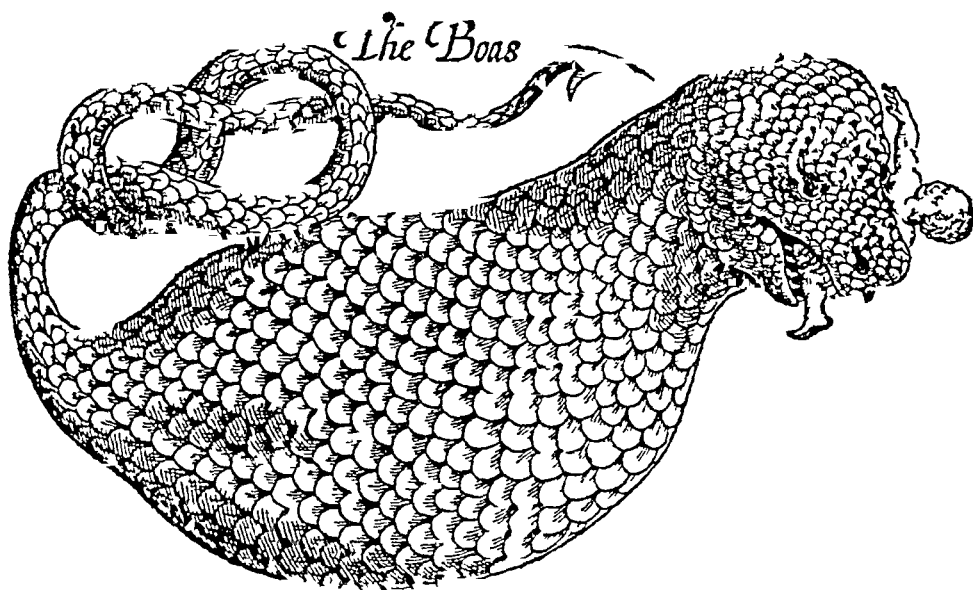
The Historie of Serpents, or, The second Booke of living Creatures printed by Jaggard in 1608 was a companion volume to *The Historie of foure-footed Beastes*. This book is only about one-third the size of the earlier work, but together the two books represented a considerable outlay of capital. The statement of Topsell that neither the writer nor the printer could afford to employ a learned proof-reader seems to indicate that the author co-operated financially in the production of the books. The woodblocks of these books were carefully preserved and were used half a century later by the widow of his son's successor, Elizabeth Cotes, when in 1658 she reprinted these two works with an additional section, *The Theatre of Insects* by Thomas Muffet, all in one volume. In the *Historie of Serpents* Topsell promised that a third book of the history of living things was to appear shortly. This, in fact, never was published, though negotiations with the brothers Cotes for its printing were under way between November 1630 and July 1632 and it is not unlikely that the printing had actually been begun (SR_{IV}, 242, 281; Court Book C, 30 May 1631). Topsell's unpublished book bore the title *Ornithologia, or the History of Birdes and Fowles*.

The Historie of Serpents was Jaggard's most important production for the year 1608. But because of the information which they give us in regard to the relation between publisher and author, two sermons issued in that year demand our attention. Early in 1608 Jaggard printed for Clement

THE
HISTORIE
OF
SERPENTS.
OR,
The second Booke of living Creatures:

*Wherein is contained their Diuine, Naturall, and Morall descriptions, with
their liuely Figures, Names, Conditions, Kindes and Natures of all venomous Beasts •
with their seuerall Poysons and Antidotes, their deepe hatred to Mankind, and the
wonderfull worke of God in their Creation, and Destruction.*

*Necessary and profitable to all sortes of Men: Collected out of diuine Scriptures, Fathers, Physosphers, Physiti-
ons, and Poets amplified with sundry accidentall Histories, Hieroglyphicks, Epigrams, Emblems, and Enig-
maticall Observations* By EDWARD TOPSELL



L O N D O N,
Printed by William Jaggard, 1608.

Knight Thomas Pullein's *Jeremiah's Teares, or A Sermon preached in York-Minster upon Trinity Sunday . . . 1604 when the sicknesse was begunne in the Cittie* which Knight had entered on the 21st of December 1607. The author had preached the sermon when the city of York was "newly visited by the late contagious sicknes" the dreadful plague which had carried off over 3,500 inhabitants of the town. Then on the 1st January 1607 he suddenly realized that the year of office of Robert Askwith, the Lord Mayor of York, was almost at an end and that he had no time to write in his honour some new work. He looked over his papers to see if he could find anything to present unto him and selected this sermon which subsequently was printed with a suitable dedication.

Another sermon-pamphlet, William Westermann's *The Faithful Subject, or, Mephiboseth, and Salomon's Porch, or A Caveat for them that enter God's House: in two Sermons Preached at Paules Crosse*, had been entered by Gregory Seaton on the 11th of October 1608 and printed by Jaggard for him and Simon Waterson late in the same year. In the preface, "The Printer to the Reader", we learn of some of the difficulties which surrounded publication. *The Faithful Subject* "was threatened by some (that catch words as they fly) to have beene pressed from the notes hastily taken which to prevent, the author promised to deliver his owne Copy" evidently to Seaton either to take the place of a surreptitiously obtained copy or to fore-

stall a piracy about to be committed by another stationer. Rumours, however, were circulated against the sermon. Among other matters the author argued that even saintly princes could be deceived by flatterers. This statement probably was misunderstood to refer to James whose susceptibility to flattery was well known, so the author wisely decided to wait "till the greatest had satisfied their graver judgements". The copy, however, was finally found harmless and was licensed for publication by Doctor Pasefield.

Two works of religious controversy also occupied Jaggard in 1608. *The Jesuite Antepast*, a reply to Robert Parsons, the celebrated Jesuit scholar and missionary, and *The Tryall of the New Religion*, a defence of the thesis that the rites and beliefs of the Church of England were identical in essentials with those of the primitive Church and that where those of the Roman Church differed from them the variances were innovations contrary to both primitive practice and to truth. Both books were written by Thomas Bell, a converted Jesuit, whose repentance of his errors had been rewarded by a substantial pension of £50 a year from the Queen. The two works of Bell were printed together; the same setting of type was used for the imprint of both. Bell's clear and biting arguments no doubt appealed to the puritan readers, who disliked Parsons, among other reasons because he encouraged the King of Spain to attack England.

Another work of Thomas Heywood, this time a

translation of Sallust's *Two most worthy and notable Histories*, engaged Jaggard's attention, and although he entered it on the 15th of February 1608, he evidently did not have an opportunity to begin work upon it until late in the year. The book is a small folio involving only about five weeks' work. The printing was continuous but the title-page of the first part bears the date 1608 and that of the second part 1609. Although William Jaggard held the copyright, John Jaggard's name appears alone on the title-page.

In 1608 also Jaggard reprinted for his brother Giovanni Botero's popular compendium of geography, this time under the title of *Relations of the most famous Kingdoms and Common-weales throughout the World*, the fourth and fifth editions of which appeared by the same printer and publisher in 1611 and 1616. For himself, William Jaggard issued in 1608 a third edition of *Two Guides to a Good Life* and Thomas Dekker's *The Dead Tearme*. The latter work, which was sold by John Hodgetts, may be identified by Jaggard's mark. But more important than these and, next to Topsell's *Historie of Serpents*, the most important book of 1608 was one edited by a man with whom Jaggard was to have many dealings, Thomas Milles, the Customer of Sandwich, a client of the press in the time of James Roberts. The book was written by a former neighbour of Roberts, Milles' uncle, Robert Glover, Somerset Herald and one of the most brilliant genealogists England has ever produced. He unfortunately

published nothing in his lifetime (he died in 1588) but his manuscript collection formed the basis of several books by other men. The manuscript of the only book which goes under his name was edited with numerous additions by his nephew, entered in the Stationers' Register on the 27th of June 1608 and printed by Jaggard under the title *Nobilitas Politica et Civilis*. Typographically this small folio is one of the most sumptuous of Jaggard's productions. The proof-reading is surprisingly good and as the work is in Latin we may be quite certain that Milles read the proof himself. A noteworthy feature of the book is the Anglo-Saxon type employed on pages 132-5. The spirited engravings of the court-dress of the different orders of nobility are among the best examples of this poor period of book-illustration. These engravings were employed again in 1610 in the English translation of the work which Milles included in his *Catalogue of Honor*.

In 1608 and 1609 Jaggard printed, probably for private distribution by the author, four works of Thomas Milles, *The Customer's Alphabet and Primer* (1608), *The Customer's Apologie* (probably printed in 1609), *The Abridgement of the Customer's Apologie* (1609) and *The Mystery of Iniquity* (dated 1609 in the author's handwriting in the British Museum copy). These works are a rather eccentric mixture of religion and political economy; the writer attacks both the pope and the opponents of the staple system. *The Mystery of Iniquity* was re-printed in 1611.

On the 28th of November 1608, also, Jaggard was granted permission, on the usual terms of two and one half per cent of the cost to be paid to the use of the poor of the Company, to print one impression of William Bullein's *Bulwark of Defence against all Sickness, Soreness and Wounds*, the right to which had been held by Thomas Marshe. If Jaggard printed the work, however, no copy is recorded as having survived.

CHAPTER X

JAGGARD'S QUARREL WITH HEYWOOD

ON the 5th of December 1608 Jaggard brought into Stationers' Hall copy for two books, both by men whose works he had printed before. One of them was a commentary upon the twentieth and twenty-first chapters of Numbers by the puritan divine, William Attersoll, entitled *The Pathway to Canaan*, the other, the *Troia Britanica*, by a now much more famous author, Thomas Heywood. There seems to have been some doubt concerning Jaggard's right to print these books. To the entry of Heywood's work is attached a note, "Provided that yf any question or trouble growe hereof. Then he shall answere and discharge yt at his owne Losse and costes" and Attersoll's work was entered "under the Like condycon as above" (SR III, 397). The meaning of these cautionary entries is not clear. Both were approved by official censors. That Attersoll had any objections to the publication of his work we cannot believe, as William, and later Isaac Jaggard, continued to print all the books which he produced. Nor have we any reason to believe that Heywood's manuscript was derived other than honestly. The work appears with the author's dedication to the Earl of Worcester, and Heywood in his attack upon Jag-

gard over the errors in the book never infers that there was any dishonesty in regard to the printing of it.

During the printing of the *Troia Britanica* Jaggard following his usual custom in all probability gave Heywood the opportunity which he accorded Topsell, Wilson, Crooke, and Brooke, to read the proofs. When in 1609 the book was finally published, however, Heywood and his friends discovered in it some errors. Heywood, then, according to a statement which he made three years later, demanded that a table of *errata* be inserted at the end of the book but had this request refused by Jaggard. Perhaps he made the request, which Brooke later obtained, that the printer publish among his own errors those of the author, or perhaps Jaggard held that the author having been given an opportunity to make corrections was to be held responsible for his failure to avail himself of it. It is more probable, on the other hand, that the misunderstanding arose because of divergent opinions concerning the nature of the book. Works of a learned character which Jaggard printed often, even usually, had at the beginning or end a list of errata, and the errors of the author as well as those of the printer were frequently included in them. Books of poetry, on the other hand, almost never contain such a list and the inclusion of one would probably have been considered by Jaggard ridiculously pedantic. Heywood, however, considered that his metrical chronicle which abounded with

dates and names which might easily give the compositors trouble was a work of scholarship.

How violent the quarrel was we cannot say. It was not, however, until three years later that the conflict was brought to a head by another matter in which Jaggard more seriously offended the poet.

In 1612 Jaggard published the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime*. This edition Jaggard expanded to sixty leaves twice the size of the first edition and by taking from Heywood's *Troia Britanica* two paraphrases from Ovid, *Two Love-Epistles, the first from Paris to Helen and Helens answere backe againe to Paris*, along with six smaller pieces (Chambers, *Shakespeare*, I, 548). Jaggard no doubt believed that because of the fact that the *Troia Britanica* had been entered to him he could probably avoid any legal consequences of this action. In regard to the ethical aspect of the matter, however, Jaggard never attempted to defend his action, but he ought not to be judged, of course, by present day standards for the seventeenth century concept of plagiarism and of the right of the author to his work was not as clearly formulated as it is at present.

Heywood, by this action of Jaggard, however, was placed in a very embarrassing position. A reader who did not know the exact details of the situation might conclude that he had plagiarized these poems from Shakespeare and that Shakespeare to expose his dishonesty was printing them under his own name. He was, therefore, almost forced to reply.

dishonesty of a sort, to be sure, which a seventeenth century printer would consider much more venial than would an author the charge of careless printing was grossly exaggerated. The errors in the *Troia Britanica* could not justly be called "infinite"; Heywood had much less cause to complain of errors than had Topsell, for Jaggard had been steadily improving in accuracy. Jaggard therefore attempted to answer this charge, so it would seem, by presenting testimonials of his skill from respected persons. The first, which probably anticipated Heywood's printed fulmination, is at the end of the *Christian Dictionarie* (1612) of the respected puritan divine, Thomas Wilson, a work which probably appeared very early in 1612 for the book was registered on the 27th of June 1611 and the dedication is dated December 1611. Prefixed to a list of the "Faults escaped" is the following notice :

Author to the Reader.

Gentle Reader, notwithstanding the Printer's very great care and diligence, the badnesse of the Copy, and also by the absence, as also partly by the forgetfulness of the Author, there are more faults committed then were thought of. Might it please thee with patience to beare with lesser and first with thy Pen to amende these, eare thou beginne to use this Booke. Farewell.

Again, two years later, when Jaggard printed another work of Wilson's, a *Commentarie upon Romanes* (1614), the book carried a second commendation by the author of the skill of the printer :



This Picture here presented to mine eye,
 Demerits in the lovely Graces
 Of Wilsons Countenance but oh his Worth
 What Pen beside his owne can hit it forth
 He canse himself but the shadow of his face
 His Worke doth shew his Learning Vertue, Grace and Industry

PORTRAIT OF THOMAS WILSON,
 from his COMPLET TAPPE UPON ROMANES

Errata.

Muse not curteous reader that thou doost meete with these faultes, for there would have been farre more if the great diligence of the Printer had not prevented it, the blinde Coppy and mine owne oversight were so bad. Correct therefore with thy pen these heere noted, ere thou begin to read and beare with the rest.

After obtaining these two commendations of his skill as a printer from a distinguished puritan divine, Jaggard in 1615 was able to display in his preface to the *Mikrokosmographia* of Helkiah Crooke a statement by that well-known physician that the errors in his book were "fewer, it may be, then could be imagined should escape in a work of such uncouth argument to the compositors and written moreover in a Schollers running hand". Heywood's charge, however, seems still to have rankled Jaggard, and when Ralphe Brooke charged him this time most falsely with the responsibility for the errors in his *Catalogue and Succession* which Jaggard printed in 1619, Jaggard, probably at the risk of a considerable loss, printed Augustine Vincent's *A Discoverie of Errours in the First Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility published by Ralphe Brooke* (1622) in order to refute it.

To return, however, to Jaggard's printing activities in 1609, we can readily see that his business was prospering, although the total of the extant productions of his press of that year 226 "edition-sheets" did not equal that of the two preceding years 475 for 1607 and 277 for 1608. So busy was he, indeed, that he was evidently unable to print

for his brother, John Jaggard, John Ursinus's *Romane Conclave* and his brother therefore was forced to employ William Stansby. Besides the works of Milles, Attersoll and Heywood of which we have already spoken, Jaggard printed in 1609 two books. On the 22nd of September 1609 he entered for his copy at Stationers' Hall, Edward Topsell's *The Householder, or the Perfect Mann* and printed one edition (STC 24125). In the following year, however, Henry Rocket republished this small volume of sermons. The exact meaning of this action is difficult to ascertain, but as Topsell seemed ready to deal with Jaggard's successors we cannot conclude from this change in publishers and from the failure of further volumes of the "Booke of Living Creatures" to follow the *Foure-footed Beastes* and *Serpents* that there had been any break between Jaggard and his learned pastor.

Another discourse issued in this year, Richard Crakanthorp's *Sermon on the Solemnizing of the happie Inauguration of our most gracious and religious Sovereigne King James, wherein is manifestly proved, that the Sovereignty of Kings is immediately from God and second to no authority on Earth Whatsoever, preached at Paules Crosse the 24. of March last 1608*, Jaggard printed for Thomas Adams. This is remarkable as an example of its excellent proof-reading; even the Latin side-notes are surprisingly free from error. The reason for this care is not difficult to find. The work is a series of fulsome flatteries of a king whom the author deftly com-

pared to Solomon, and one unfortunate typographical error might turn adulation to ridicule. Fearing lest the Star Chamber should investigate any typographical errors which they might let fall, the author, the printer, and perhaps even the publisher, no doubt read the proofs with painstaking care.

Early in the next year (the 11th of January 1610) Jaggard entered and afterwards printed with great care George Marcelline's *The Triumphs of King James the First*, a work inspired by James' own recently published *Premonition to all most mightie Monarchs*. Although Jaggard owned the copyright of this book, he did not publish it the imprint reads "Printed" (*i.e.* published) "at Brittaines Bursse for John Budge and are there to be solde, 1610". It would seem Jaggard was finding that because of the comparative distance of his shop from the book-selling centres of Paul's Churchyard and Fleet Street it was more profitable for him to reduce his bookselling activities to a minimum and to devote himself as much as possible to printing. A considerable portion of the extant output of his press during 1610 was work done for other stationers

though as these books were small they consumed only about fifteen per cent of his time. For his friend, Thomas Pavier, he printed *The Way to true Happiness leading to the Gate of Knowledge*; for Thomas Adams, Barnaby Rich's *New Description of Ireland*; for the Stationers' Company, Sir Thomas Elyott's *Castel of Helth*, and for Simon Waterson,

Robert Parson's *Second Part of the Book of Christian Exercise*, the printing rights of which Jaggard owned (SR II, 652). Even Attersoll's *Continuation of the Exposition of the Booke of Numbers, or the Historie of Balak*, the second part of a commentary, the first portion of which, *The Pathway to Canaan*, Jaggard had already printed and published the year before, bears the imprint "Printed at London by William Jaggard and are to be sold in Paules Churchyard at the Rose" the sign of Thomas Wright "1610". Furthermore, of the remaining two extant books of 1610 which do not bear the name of another stationer in the imprint, one, the ballad *Adam Bell*, the right to which Jaggard derived from Roberts, was almost certainly sold in wholesale lots to the ballad-mongers. The other, *The Catalogue of Honor, or, Tresury of True Nobility Peculiar and Proper to the Isle of Great Britaine* which Thomas Milles compiled (with some additions of his own) from the papers of his uncle, Robert Glover, Jaggard probably sold, though it is likely that Milles, who seems fond of giving away his publications, disposed of a large number among his friends. This large, stately volume, profusely decorated with armorial cuts and the engravings previously employed in Glover's *Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis* an English translation of which was incorporated in the introduction- was carefully proof-read. Despite the fact that Milles and William Camden when they later corrected the copy which now reposes in the Bodleian Library (pressmark B. 6.16. art.)

professed that the errors which were in it were those of the printer and translator, the *errata* sheet lists errors to a large extent of the author or the editor.

For the Diocese of York, also, Jaggard printed Visitation Articles. Besides the extant books which he printed in 1610, Jaggard entered on the 13th of October of that year "A Booke called *Rodoman-todos or Brabadoes and bragardismes*" (SR III, 446). If this book was printed, no copy of it is known to the writer.

Jaggard's policy of minimizing his bookselling activities showed an increase in the amount of production of his press. During 1610 his extant books amounted to about 475 edition-sheets to say nothing of others probably lost a record not equalled until 1621. It was a year, then, of prosperity and not only of material gain but of honour. On the 17th of December 1610 Jaggard was "chosen and admitted to be the Printer" of the city of London "in the Roome and steed of John Windett lately deceased, for so long time as he (should) well, sufficycently and honestly performe the same and at reasonable rates and prises as the said John Windett formerly did". The Printer to the City was one of the twelve or more City Tradesmen whose ranks included the City Carpenter, the City Plasterer, the City Founder and others. The office was "in the gifte" of the Lord Mayor or the Chamberlain and was sold at a fixed fee. The income from the office was not large and Jaggard's duties in this connection

probably not heavy.¹ Not all even of the official printing of the city was done by him. Of this work, consisting as it did of such easily lost pieces as proclamations which would be posted up and destroyed, little remains. In fact the sole remaining examples of Jaggard's printing for the city consists of two broadsides, *The Oath of Every Free-man of the Cittie of London* (undated) and another concerning the selling of cloth at Blackwell Hall (1622) and three pamphlets, a little manual for aldermen entitled, *An Act for the Reformation of divers Abuses in the Wardmote Inquest* (1617), *The Lawes of the Market* (1620) and *The Order of My Lord Maior, the Aldermen and the Sheriffs for their Meetings* (1622). The honour, then, of being the City Printer was not a great one, but of his office Jaggard was extremely proud. On the title-page of Anthony Munday's *Briefe Chronicle* which he printed soon after his appointment he placed the imprint "Printed by W. Jaggard, Printer to the Honourable Citty of London and are to be solde at his house in Barbican, 1611", and later in 1623 when he was making his will he directed that the piece of silver plate which he bequeathed to the Stationers' Company should be engraved with the words "The Guift of William Jaggard Printer to the Honourable Citty of London".

On the 20th of March 1610, also, William Jaggard took as an apprentice John Shakespeare, the son of

¹ A. W. Welch, "The City Printers" in *Trans. of the Bibliographical Soc* XIV. (1919), 175-6, 193-4

Thomas Shakespeare, a butcher of Warwicke and in all probability a distant relative of the dramatist. It is tempting to conjecture that William Shakespeare had preferred his kinsman to William Jaggard and to see the episode of *The Passionate Pilgrime* in a different light from that usually accepted. But, on the other hand, it is not likely that the dramatist would be acquainted with many of his distant relatives, even those living in towns close to Stratford, and the relations of Jaggard and Shakespeare do not suggest any degree of intimacy. John Shakespeare, it may be added, served his seven years' term of apprenticeship with Jaggard and was made free of the Company on 22nd May 1617. Later he evidently fell into poverty; from the 22nd of March 1641-2 until the 23rd of June 1646, according to the Company's Account Book, John Shakespeare drew a pension from the Stationers' Company. His widow received a pension from 1646 to 1660 (Willoughby, *Printing of the First Folio*, p. 1, n. 1).

The year 1611, however, saw the beginning of a drop in the amount of production of extant books issued from Jaggard's press, and although it may be compensated for by an increase in governmental and commercial printing, it would seem as though from 1611 to 1617 was a less prosperous period in its history, but nevertheless a period of steady profits. The extant output of Jaggard's press in 1611 was 226 edition-sheets less than half that of 1610, but at the same time greater than the maximum computed extant annual output of a successful con-

temporary printer, Edward Allde (McKerrow: *The Library*, 1929, 4 ser., x, 140).

One reason for this decline in output was the fact that in 1611 William Jaggard printed only for himself and his brother. Yet we must remember that judged by sheets not titles the work done for other stationers did not in the years before comprise more than 10 per cent. of Jaggard's total extant output. Was he faced with a boycott by his former book-seller clients? Perhaps, however, the decline merely indicates that William Jaggard was putting more emphasis on the marketing of his books. Certainly the phrase "solde by" appears less frequently in the imprints of his books. For himself Jaggard printed in 1611 the Puritan Edmund Bunny's "explanacyon of the Bible", *Of the Head-Corner-Stone by the Builders still overmuch omitted*, Edward Dering's *Shorte Catechisme* and Anthony Munday's *Chruso-thriambos* and his *Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of Times from the Creation to this Instant*, and for his brother another edition of Botero's *Relations*.

The following year showed a slight increase in the known and extant examples from the Barbican Printing house a total of about 300 edition-sheets. And Jaggard now had two stationers as new clients for his press, Richard Bankworth, for whom he printed *Certain Sermons* of John Frewen, and John Budge, for whom he printed (without placing his name on the title-page) Nathan Field's play *Woman is a Weathercock* (cf. Bernard Quaritch, *Catalogue*

39, 1922, no. 389). For his brother, who was no doubt prospering in his business, Willham Jaggard printed Gerard Legh's *Accedence of Armorie*, Francis Bacon's *Essays* and Sir John Davies' *Discoverie of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued untill his Maiesties happie Raigne*. This last volume was not entered until the 19th of December 1612, and probably was not published until the spring of 1612-3. For this reason some copies bear the date 1613 on their title-pages. No doubt for the author, for private distribution, Jaggard printed Thomas Milles' *An Out-Port-Customers Accompt*, and he himself issued Attersoll's folio *Commentarie upon the Epistle to Philemon*, Wilson's *Christian Dictionarie* and the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime*, of which we have already spoken earlier in the chapter.

There is one bit of evidence, however, that Jaggard was not obtaining enough work to keep his presses busy. In 1612, evidently, he printed contrary to orders apprentices indenture forms, and on the 28th of January 1612-3 Jaggard was ordered by the Court of the Company to pay Master Lownes, the owner of the right of printing these indentures, ten shillings damages and to pay besides to the Company a fine of three shillings four pence (Court Book C, and Fine Book).

CHAPTER XI

BLINDNESS

THE fierce attack which Thomas Heywood launched upon Jaggard came at a time when the printer's cup of sorrow was already full. While his spirit was pained by the poet's charge of dishonesty and incompetence, his body was racked by a disease which is terrible even to-day when all the forces of modern science are marshalled against it, and in the time of Jaggard, with the lack of knowledge of sanitation, was so common that its name was a by-word on the street and stage. As early as 1611 he may have been suffering from it, for Bunny in his address to the reader in *The Head-Cornerstone* says, referring to the errors in the volume, "that the Printer was by divers so discouraged after he had taken it in hand that in that doubtfulness many such errors might the easier be let passe". Finally, either the disease, or the mercury treatment for it, deprived William Jaggard of that sense which is so necessary to a printer, his sight. In the first volume of *The Treasurie of Ancient and Modern Times* (printed by Jaggard in 1613) the compiler, Thomas Milles, adds this pathetic little preface :

To the Reader.

I know (Gentle Reader) that Custome commands an Epistle to thee for favorable acceptance and honest Entertainment of such a great Labour. But I am (at this time) forced to write unto thee both on the behalfe of my selfe and the Printer in regard of the many Escapes which usually chanceth in Printing, by reason, that immediately after the Bookes beginning sicknesse & other infirmities, did bereave him of his sight. . . .

We have good reason to believe that this disaster overtook Jaggard shortly before 15th May 1612. In the Sloane Manuscripts, preserved at the British Museum, is recorded the history of Jaggard's treatment (MS. Sloane, 640 ff. 192 a, 266 b, 275 a). The physician who attended the case we fear in none too skilful a manner is not identified but he may have been Dr. Helkiah Crooke with whom Jaggard later, at least, seems to have been upon good terms.

In spite of his blindness William Jaggard struggled on. Isaac, his eldest son, although but a boy of eighteen, was allowed on 23rd June 1613 to take the freedom of the Company by patrimony and was no doubt able to aid his father in the conduct of the business. The output of the press during 1613 gave no evidence of a decline. In fact it was a little better than that of 1612, totalling about 315 edition-sheets for the books now known and extant. But as in 1611, Jaggard printed in 1613 for no other stationer except his brother John. For him he printed two editions of Bacon's *Essays* and for the dioceses of Norwich and of Lincoln he printed Visitation Articles. For himself he printed in 1613 but two

books Thomas Hill's *Pleasant History declaring the whole Art of Phisiognomy*; probably printed from a lost edition issued either by Denham or by Charlwood (SR II, 359, 652) and the first volume of *The Treasurie of Ancient and Modern Times* selected by Thomas Milles from the compilations of Pedro Mexia and other writers. The latter book is a large folio volume of almost a thousand double columned closely printed pages. In the second volume issued in 1619 Jaggard states, referring to present production: "I then published nine Bookes with intention to have made them up to fifteen, for the first Volume: but being prevented by sicknesse I finished but the first nine Bookes". Milles' compilation is one of the most fascinating pieces which Jaggard printed and, as the printer himself admits, it found "good acceptance" with the buying public.

The next year, 1614, however, saw a sharp decline in the amount of production in Jaggard's press. The known and extant books equal less than 150 edition-sheets less than half the total for 1613 and less than one-third that for 1607. But it is not necessary to assume that he was losing money, for, as we shall see, Jaggard was still evidently prospering in his business. Other stationers still seem to have been unwilling to bring him their printing; he had only two customers in this year and both of them brought work which because of copyright requirements could have been taken to no other printer. Adams desired to publish another edition of Rastell's *Table*, the printing rights to which Jaggard

owned and therefore had no choice but to give him the job. Edward Blount also wished to publish *The Workes* of Edward Dering, and as Jaggard owned the rights to the *Catechisme and Prayers* and two sermons, Blount made an arrangement with him whereby Jaggard should print them with a secondary title-page bearing the printer's name to form the first section of a work of three parts, the second and third fascicules of which should be printed by Edward Griffin, whose name as printer appears alone on the general title-page. For himself, Jaggard printed books by his two Puritan friends, Thomas Wilson's *Commentarie upon the Epistle to the Romanes* and William Attersoll's *The New Covenant*, a new edition of *The Badges of Christianity* which he had first published in 1606. Jaggard, probably now desiring to cultivate the goodwill of the booksellers, permitted this work to be "solde by Nicholas Bourne at his shop at the entrance of the Royall Exchange".

If this action of Jaggard's was an attempt to obtain more printing contracts it was successful; Nicholas Bourne had Jaggard print for him in the following year, 1615, two small books both signed with the initials of their authors, *Britaines Busse or a Computation as well of the Charge of a Busse or Herring fishing Ship as well as also of the Gain and Profit thereby*, written by an E. S., and *This Worlds Folly*, an attack on current abuses of the time including the theatre, by a reformer whose initials I. H. so the present writer suspects hides the

identity of the future bishop, Joseph Hall. As owner of the printing-rights, Jaggard printed for Waterson in this year another edition of the *Second Part of the Book of Christian Exercise*. Jaggard himself issued in 1615 two works. The first was a book of three sermons by Thomas Adams, *The Blacke Devill, Lycanthropy and The Spirituall Navigator*. The two last named discourses have separate title-pages although their titles also appear on the collective title-page and have independent systems of pagination and signatures and individual dedications. Had he considered it desirable to offer them for sale as separate publications this action could have been taken with ease.

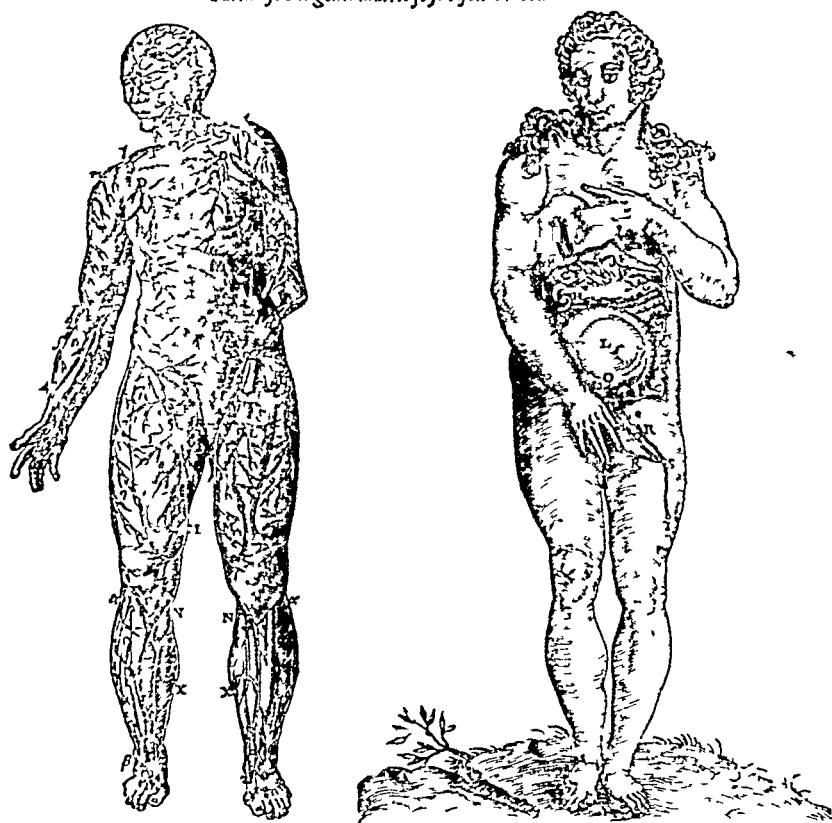
A much more important work was the second book, published in all probability, soon after the 31st May 1615 (the date of the preface), Helkiah Crooke's *Mikro-kosmographia, or The Body of Man*. The book is an imposing folio of over a thousand pages elaborately illustrated with engravings which must have entailed a considerable expense to the printer. In fact so large and costly was this volume that Jaggard was able to include only thirteen out of the sixteen books into which the author's manuscript was divided ; but the fact that Jaggard was able to undertake so expensive and slow selling a volume is further evidence of his prosperity. And no doubt Jaggard was proud to be the publisher of this learned work dedicated to his father's guild, the Barber-Surgeons' Company. Crooke's *Mikro-kosmographia* appeared in three issues, the first in

ΜΙΚΡΟΚΟΣΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ.
A
DESCRIPTION
of the Body of Man.
TOGETHER
WITH THE CONTROVERSIES
and Figures thereto belonging.

*Collected and Translated out of all the Best Authors of Anatomy, Especially
out of Gasper Bauhinus, and Andreas Laurentius By HELKIAH CROOKE Doctor in
Physicke, Physitian to His Maestie, and His Highnesse PROFESSOR in Anatomy and Chirurgery*

Published by the Kings Maesties especiall Direction and Warrant, according to the first
integrity, as it was Originally written by the AUTHOR.

*Etiam Parnassia Laurus
Parua subingenti matris se subicit umbra*



Printed by W. Iaggard dwelling in Barbican, and are hereto besold, 1616

identity of the future bishop, Joseph Hall. As owner of the printing-rights, Jaggard printed for Waterson in this year another edition of the *Second Part of the Book of Christian Exercise*. Jaggard himself issued in 1615 two works. The first was a book of three sermons by Thomas Adams, *The Blacke Devill, Lycanthropy and The Spirituall Navigator*. The two last named discourses have separate title-pages although their titles also appear on the collective title-page and have independent systems of pagination and signatures and individual dedications. Had he considered it desirable to offer them for sale as separate publications this action could have been taken with ease.

A much more important work was the second book, published in all probability, soon after the 31st May 1615 (the date of the preface), Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia, or The Body of Man*. The book is an imposing folio of over a thousand pages elaborately illustrated with engravings which must have entailed a considerable expense to the printer. In fact so large and costly was this volume that Jaggard was able to include only thirteen out of the sixteen books into which the author's manuscript was divided; but the fact that Jaggard was able to undertake so expensive and slow selling a volume is further evidence of his prosperity. And no doubt Jaggard was proud to be the publisher of this learned work dedicated to his father's guild, the Barber-Surgeons' Company. Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* appeared in three issues, the first in

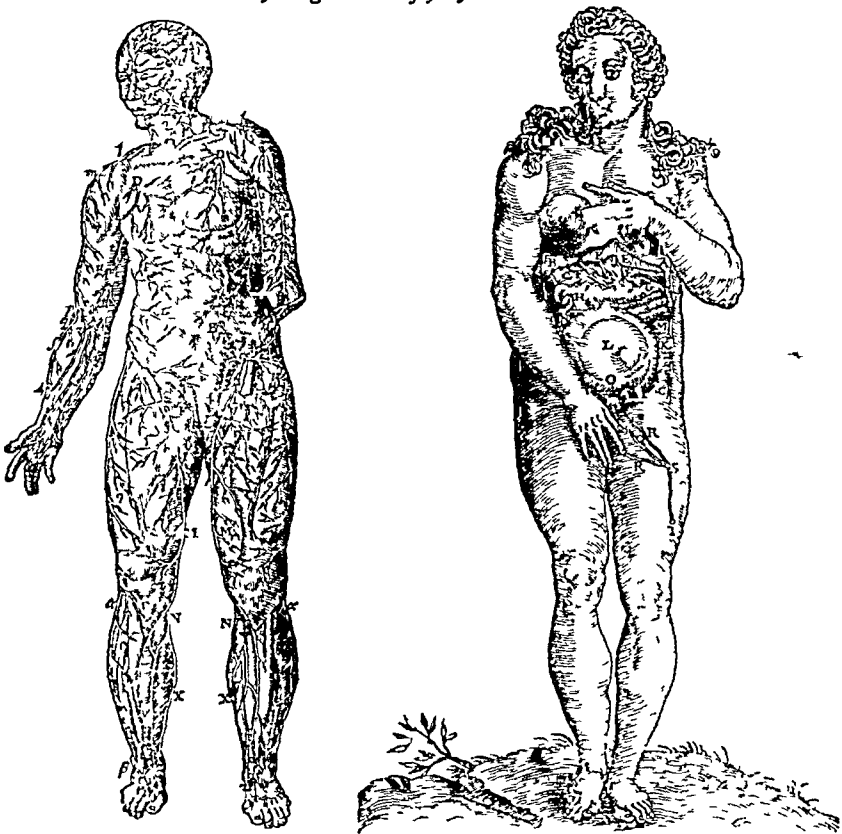
ΜΙΚΡΟΚΟΣΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ.
A
DESCRIPTION
of the Body of Man.

TOGETHER
WITH THE CONIROVERSIES
and Figures thereto belonging.

*Collected and Translated out of all the Best Authors of Anatomy, Especially
out of Gasper Bauhinus, and Andreas Laurentius By HELKIAH CROOKE Doctor in
Physicke, Physitian to His Maiessty, and His Highnesse PROFESSOR in Anatomy and Chirurgery*

Published by the Kings Maiessties especiall Direction and Warrant, according to the first
integrity, as it was Originally written by the AVTHOR.

*Etiam Parnassia Laurus
Parua sub ingente matris se subicit umbra*



Printed by W. Iaggard dwelling in Barbican, and are here to be sold, 1616.

TITLE-PAGE

OF THE RARE SECOND ISSUE OF CROOKES MIKROKOSMOGRAPHIA
from the apparently unique copy in the University of Chicago libraries

1615, a second in 1616, and a third in 1618. Besides the changes on the title-page various alterations were introduced in the preface.

The year 1615, then, saw a greater volume of publication from the Barbican printing house than did the previous year; the known and extant books amount to about 310 edition-sheets. On the 29th of October 1615, also, "Master William Jaggard entered for his Copies by Consent of a full Court . . . theis ix Copies which were heretofore entered to James Roberts.

Deering's Catechisme and prayers
Threasure of gladnes
Sweet song of a sinner
Pathway to please GOD
Mores Catechisme
Adam Bell
Robin Conscience
The 100 merrie tales
The players billes " (SR III, 575).

It is impossible to determine why Jaggard entered these particular books at this time. It may have been that Roberts was retiring from a silent partnership or that he had merely been renting to Jaggard the use of his copies. But what evidence there is points against this conclusion. Although Roberts lived until 1618 we do not find in the record of the transfer the familiar formula "by the consent of Master Robertes". Again, not only did Jaggard print books which were Roberts's before this date, but he and his successors continued to print and transfer copies which are not named in this list

afterwards without any formality. But at first sight the strangest aspect of this transaction is the fact that with the exception of Dering's *Catechisme and Prayers* and the ballad *Adam Bell* no copy of any title mentioned in this list issued by Jaggard seems to be extant. This is all the more strange as every title on the list had at least once been a "best seller". *The Treasure of Gladness*, a little manual of devotion, ran through at least eight editions between 1563 and 1581; but after the latter date no edition, or at least none of which copies have survived, was issued (modern reprints excepted). *The Sweet Song of a Sinner* by Queen Katherine Parr, the third item on the list, under varying titles went through thirteen editions between 1545 and 1563, yet no copy printed by Charlwood, Roberts, the Jaggards or the Cotes brothers, the successive owners of the copyrights, has come down to us. *The Pathway to Please God*, a book of prayers, was written by Thomas Wallis and published by Charlwood in 1583 (Maunsell, *Catalogue* I, 87, 120), but no copy of this book in any edition apparently has survived. "Mores Catechisme", the fifth item on the list, is merely another name for the little manual of Edward Dering. The ballad *Robin Conscience* presents a more baffling problem. To this piece Charlwood, Roberts and therefore Jaggard possessed only the printing rights; Thomas Adams held the rights of publication (SR II, 596). No extant editions of this ballad are known to exist from about 1560 until about the middle of the

seventeenth century. *The Hundred Merry Tales*, a very popular jest book, was first published in English about 1525 and during the next ten years two more editions appeared ; but until the beginning of the last century, when reprints were made for scholarly purposes, no further editions of which copies are extant seem to have been issued. The "players billes" and Jaggard's printing of them are discussed elsewhere in the present volume (Chapters VIII and XIV).

A close examination, then, of this list of copyrights, all of which Dorothy Jaggard, the widow of Isaac, later transferred to the Cotes brothers, shows the problem to be a more perplexing one than it at first appears. Why should Jaggard desire to register the transfer of copyrights of works he evidently did not publish while, on the other hand, he failed to register the transfer of such books as Wimbledon's *Sermon*, Hill's *Physiognomy*, and Howard's *Defensive against supposed Prophecies* which he did print ? Are we to suppose that many editions were lost and that Jaggard and Cotes printed these works in cheap, easily destroyed pamphlets which have all disappeared ? The works transferred are manuals of popular piety or of popular literature suited to be issued in such a form, and the fact that we find the ballad *Robin Conscience* springing into favour with publishers after the Civil War, despite the sixty to seventy years which apparently intervened between the issue of recorded editions, gives such the theory at first sight some support, although this popularity

could have been maintained by oral tradition. It is extremely unlikely, however, that all the editions of these books should disappear while those of Dering's *Catechisme* and of the ballad *Adam Bell* should be preserved. We are therefore compelled to content ourselves with simply pointing out the problem.

In 1615 also, Jaggard, along with three other printers, contracted to print *God and the King*, a small textbook written for the instruction of youth "to show that King James doth rightfully claim whatsoever is required in the oath of allegiance". Needless to say, the manual, of which Doctor Thomas Mockett is supposed to have been the author, upheld in its most extreme form the divine right of kings. A monopoly for the publication of this book was given to Edward Parker, Lord Morley, for a term of years in return for his surrender of the hereditary office of High Marshall of England. Lord Eure also, however, became involved in the publication of the manual. These two noblemen left the details of publication first to William Jordan and Nicholas Hooker, then to an agent named Simon Spatchurst.

Four printers were engaged to print the book, John Beale, William Jaggard, Thomas Snodham and Edward Griffin. Large editions were printed both in English and Latin, but no surviving copy has yet been identified as coming from Jaggard's establishment. By the 8th of November 1615 copies were evidently ready to be put on sale, and the king, therefore, issued a proclamation stating the purpose

of the book and stating that all archbishops and bishops had been directed to give order for the instruction of the youth under the age of twenty-one in this book and that all persons were commanded to obey them under the pain of ecclesiastical censure and princely indignation.

Thus sped, the book sold well ; but unfortunately Simon Spatchurst was either dishonest or incompetent, or else his employers seized all the proceeds of the sales leaving no balance to pay the expenses. At any rate the printers, who had become “ engaged with other their friends for paper and other charges to a greater value ”, were unable to obtain payment from him. Finally they carried their appeal to the Privy Council itself, and on the 14th of February 1617 ten privy councillors signed a letter directing Spatchurst to pay the printers “ such sommes of mony as are mencioned in a deede under his Lordship’s hande and seale ” and required him either to give the petitioners immediate satisfaction or otherwise to detain all such monies which might be or should come into his hands from the sale of the books until further order could be taken for their relief. Spatchurst evidently replied to this letter and nine days later, on the 23rd of February, the Privy Council addressed a letter to Lord Eure directing him to pay the printers and calling his attention to the fact that inasmuch as the book was selling well, there was no reason why payment should not be made. The demand for the book still continued later in the year ; on the 3rd September

1617, the Attorney-General found it necessary to issue an injunction forbidding any one except Lord Morley or his deputies to print or sell the book ; but the sale of the book seems to have stopped soon after that, for no further editions, to judge from extant copies, were issued after 1616.

As we hear of no further complaints from the printers it is reasonable to conclude that they obtained satisfaction, but the troubles of Lord Morley and his family with Spatchurst over the profits of the book did not end so quickly. Morley died in 1618 and as late as 1621 the administrator of his estate petitioned against Spatchurst because he would give no account of his gains under the pretence that he was paying a debt of £2000 due to the Lord Chancellor for drawing the patent of the giant.

The editions of *God and the King* must have been enormous. The privileges of selling the Scotch edition had been granted to James Primrose, Clerk of the Privy Council of Scotland, but English printers had to manufacture copies for all students and probably for every family in England, Ireland and Wales, and the profits of the book at sixpence a copy were calculated to be enough not only to compensate Lord Morley for the loss of his office but to pay the Lord Chancellor a fee of £2000. Jaggard and his three fellow petitioners, however, were not the only printers engaged in the printing of this manual Edward Allde of London and Cantrell Legge of Cambridge and probably others also produced editions but it is probable that among

the reasons for the decline in the production in Jaggard's establishment during 1616 and 1617 was the work spent upon *God and the King* and the shortage of capital while payment for it was delayed.

In 1616 Jaggard's recorded production fell to about 140 edition-sheets, lower even than that of 1614. Other stationers still failed to bring him any considerable amount of business. Nicholas Bourne employed him to print Christopher Sutton's *Godly Meditations upon the most holy Sacrament of the Lordes Supper*, a thick little duodecimo volume intended no doubt to be carried in the worshipper's pocket, but after this date seems to have had no more dealings with him. Jaggard and Henry Featherstone, however, together published *Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting from the Court of the Great Mogul, resident at the towne of Asmere in Easterne India*. The imprint, "Printed by W. Jaggard and Henry Featherstone, 1616", is said sometimes to be found without the date (STC 5812). Thomas Coryate's *Crudities*, eccentric though it was, had become the guide-book which the polite world of England used when making the grand tour of Europe, and Tom's letters describing his pedestrian journey to India could be relied upon to excite the attention not only of the wits but of the ordinary readers as well. Two cuts, the figure of an antelope and of a unicorn, originally made for Topsell's *Historie of foure-footed Beastes*, appear in this book along with several others especially engraved to illustrate Coryate's work.

In a book published by himself alone Jaggard again showed the same propensity for using old engravings. The cost of producing Crooke's *Mikro-kosmographia* must have been considerable, and Jaggard having on his hands a large stock of expensive anatomical cuts bethought himself of a way in which they might be employed in another work, less expensive so that it might appeal to poor surgeons who could not afford Crooke's volume, and small and portable so that it might serve also the wealthier surgeons who could afford both. This intention is brought out in the author's preface :

“ This small volume presenting all the partes of the body of man by continuation to the eye impresseth the Figures firmly in the mind and being portable may be carried without trouble to places appointed for dissection . . . The Printer therefore of the former great volume hath published this small Manuell, hoping it will proove profitable and delightful to such as are not able to buy or have no time to peruse the other . desiring the readers acceptance because it proceedeth from a mind desirous of giving satisfaction to all ”

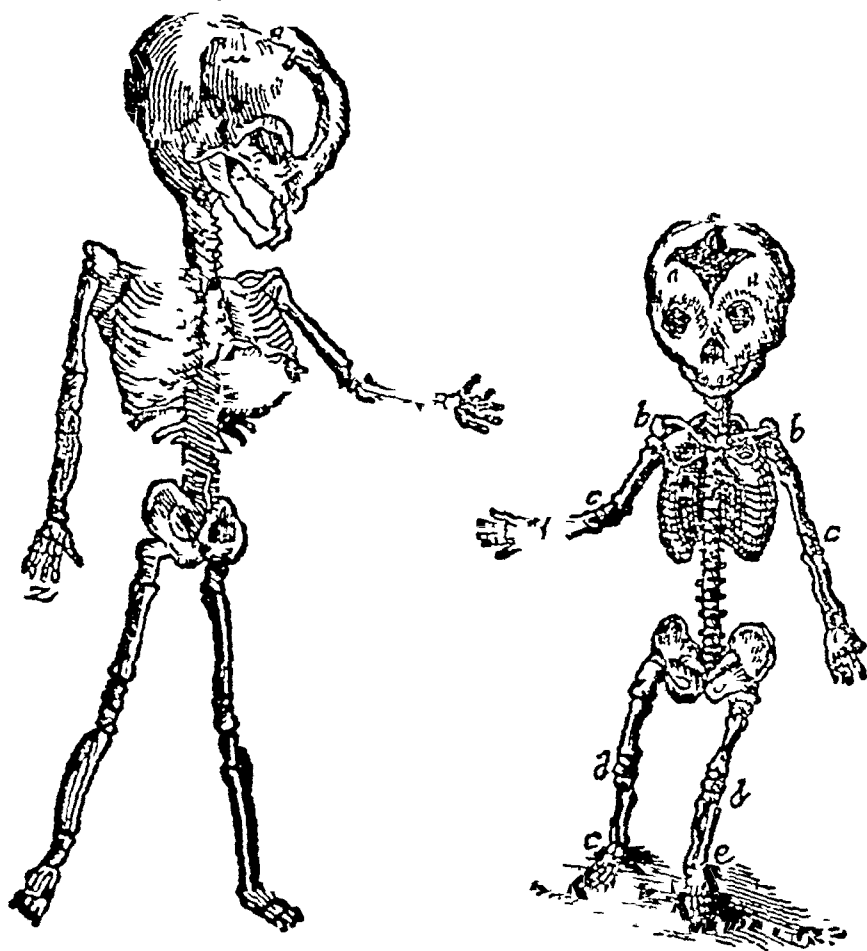
To edit the “ small Manuell ”, which comprised little more than the figures of Crooke's treatise with the explanatory tables which accompanied them sometimes altered or rearranged Jaggard obtained the services of a young surgeon who later became famous, Alexander Read, and probably together they composed a title which would emphasize the connection of the present volume with that which it epitomized : *Somatographia Anthropine, or A Description of the Body of Man. By Artificiall Figures*

Σωματογραφία Ανθρώπου.

OR

A DESCRIPTION of the Body of M A N.

*By Artificiall Figures representing the members, and fit termes
expressing the same. Set forth either to pleasure or to profite
those who are addicted to this Study. By W.I. Printer.*



Printed by W. Iaggard dwelling in Barbican, and are
there to be fold, 1616.

representing the members, and fit termes expressing the same. Set forth either to pleasure or to profite those who are addicted to this Study. By W. I. Printer.

The year 1616 was memorable also in the family of William Jaggard for the coming-of-age of his eldest son Isaac. Isaac had no doubt been working in his father's printing office since 1613, the date of his admission to the freedom of the Company, if not before, and there, if our deductions are correct, he developed into a compositor and stone-man of great ingenuity.¹ Perhaps to celebrate the event William Jaggard allowed the name of his son to stand upon the title-page of a charming little thumb book which measures approximately two by one inches, George Chapman's translation of *The Divine Poem of Musaeus First of all Books*, a work which the father had entered on the 27th of July 1616. It is not unlikely that copies of the little book were used largely as gifts.

Besides these two new books Jaggard in 1616 reprinted for his brother another edition of Botero's *Relations*, and for himself a "second edition augmented by Additions of divers thousands of Words Phrases and Significations" of Wilson's *Christian Dictionarie*, a book which he was no doubt finding a very profitable publication.

¹ There is some reason to suppose that the headings for the acts and scenes of the First Folio, in the printing of which an original labour-saving method was employed, was set up by Isaac Jaggard (Willoughby, *The Printing of the First Folio*, pp 14-5, and id, in *Review of English Studies*, IV (1928), 323-6; V. (1929), 198-200)

In the year 1617 Jaggard's production reached its lowest ebb. In all, his known and extant works number but little more than fifty edition-sheets. This drop, to be sure, may be accounted for partly by the fact that he was probably working in 1617 upon Attersoll's *Commentarie upon Numbers* which he published in the following year, but there was one other highly significant factor. In 1617 but one other stationer brought him any work : Edmund Weaver, whose daughter Isaac Jaggard later married, commissioned William Jaggard to print Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall of English Words*.¹ In fact, Jaggard occupied himself largely in reprinting works which he or his predecessors had previously issued : Albertus Magnus' *Secretes*, Wimbledon's *Sermon no less fruitfull then famous*, a fourteenth century discourse also known as "the sermon that was hid in a wall", of which Jaggard printed two editions in 1617, one of which was sold by Daniel Speed and, despite his quarrel with the author, the third edition of Thomas Heywood's *Woman Kilde with Kindnesse*. On the title-page of this last book, however, Isaac Jaggard's name appeared in the imprint. Like the second edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime*, the second edition of *A Woman Kilde with Kindnesse* has been lost. The only new book which Jaggard published in 1617, to judge from known and extant examples, was a translation of the epoch-making treatise written by Ambroise Paré half a century

¹ The " 1617 " edition of Raleigh's *History of the World* was really printed in 1621 (see below, Chap. XIII).

before, *The Method of Curing Wounds made by Gun-shot also by Arrows and Darts and their Accidents : done into English by W. Hammond*, a work which he entered on the 2nd of December 1616 and probably finished in the spring of the next year. Isaac Jaggard's name appears on the title-page.

The history of the Jaggard press, then, from the years 1611 to 1617, unless lost or unidentified books invalidate our conclusions, is characterized by a drop in the average amount of production. This seems to have been caused to some extent by the fact that stationers evidently brought less work to Jaggard during these years and perhaps by the fact that Jaggard was evidently marketing his own books during this period. Jaggard almost certainly possessed two presses throughout his entire career, and if he employed sufficient journeymen to man his shop adequately a force of about eight or nine employees he could easily have kept up the maximum amount of production which he attained in 1607 and 1610.

In the year 1618, so it would seem, Jaggard began to change his policy though the evidence is not very definite. In that year, to be sure, he printed no books for any other publisher, and although his publications totalled $328\frac{1}{2}$ edition-sheets, there is considerable reason to believe that a considerable portion of this work was printed in the preceding year. *The Commentarie on Numbers* by his friend William Attersoll, a work which incorporated *The Pathway to Canaan* (1609) and its

continuation *The Historie of Balak* (1610), is the largest book which Jaggard ever published and the second largest which he ever printed. This work occupies 325 sheets, so it is evident that the other two extant books produced by Jaggard in 1618 were very small.

The first of these was another edition of Visitation Articles for the diocese of Norwich ; the second, however, was a much more interesting little volume, the first number of a book-trade periodical, *A Catalogue of Such English Books as lately have been or now are, in printing for Publication, from the ninth day October 1618 until Easter term next ensuing and from this forme of beginning (though not in such perfect manner as hereafter may be performed) to be continued*. Only the first issue is known, but as only one copy of this has survived that in the Bodleian Library succeeding numbers which now are lost may have been published. The pamphlet, a quite obvious imitation of the Frankfurt *Mess-Katalog*, gives us considerable insight into the publishing conditions of the day. The titles are divided by subjects : “ Divinity, History, Controversie, Law Bookes (and) Bookes of Art and Humanity ”. Divinity was the largest subject, occupying eight of the eleven pages, and the titles in this section were subdivided among nineteen stationers. The name of neither William, Isaac nor John Jaggard, however, appears among them. William Jaggard’s theological publications which he listed in his *Catalogue* : Wilson’s *Christian Dictionarie* and *Com-*

mentarie on Romanes, Adam's *Blacke Devill* and Attersoll's *Commentarie on Numbers*, are advertised as to be sold by John Grismond, a young bookseller who was just beginning business, but of whom, strange to say, we seem to have no record concerning other dealings with the Jaggards. Scattered among the books treating secular subjects we have "Crookes anatomy", which is classified under *History* along with an announcement of the forthcoming "10 following bookes of the Treasury of Auncient and Modern Times", but Paré's "Wounds cured by Gun Shot" (*sic*) is listed under *Bookes of Art and humanity*. These three works are simply catalogued as "Printed by William Jaggard". These entries seem to indicate that by the fall of 1618 Jaggard had determined as far as possible to give over the marketing of his books to other stationers and to devote his efforts to printing. The developments of the next four years, though they do not enable us to come to a definite decision, agree well with the inference that this policy was a different one from that which he had been following in the preceding years. If his purpose was to curry favour with his fellow stationers, the publication of a catalogue of books in print was in all probability an excellent device. In 1596 the Stationers' Company rewarded Maunsell for producing a similar but more elaborate *Catalogue* with a gift of money and books (*Records*, pp. lv, 54), and it can easily be seen how useful would be a semi-annual catalogue of English books in print. This need was later met

to some extent by the English edition of the Frankfurt *Mess-Katalog* which was published from 1622 to 1626 by John Bill.

It is rather surprising to find John Jaggard's name omitted from the list of publishers, though, to be sure, he published no theology. John had served as Renter-Warden in 1609-10 and with two others had represented the Company at the Lord Mayor's dinner on the 29th of October 1613. In 1618 evidently, he assumed the leadership of the poorer stationers against the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Company, whom he accused of giving privileges to the English stock part of the group of copyrights which had reverted to the Company to strangers and men of other companies instead of to the poor of their own Company to whom it belonged. John Jaggard petitioned the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Montague, and the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, asking for their intervention in this matter. John Jaggard's petition was successful. On the 10th of May 1618 both Montague and Bacon endorsed the petition ordering the officials of the Company to obey their own regulations, and five days later Bacon wrote from York House to reinforce his endorsement. Anthony Benn, the City Recorder, no doubt at the instance of these powerful Privy Councillors, determined to investigate these abuses which were not only against the regulations of the Company but contrary to the policy of the government which, to remove the temptation to handle unallowed books from the

poorer stationers, desired them to have sufficient licensed works to sell, ordered, on the 10th of July 1618, Simon Waterson, the Master of the Company, together with William Leake, Thomas Adams, and any who might wish to accompany them to come to his house on the 13th of the month to answer John Jaggard's complaint (Liber A. "Orders of the Mayor", etc.). The movement to aid the poorer stationers was probably successful. At any rate, in the following year, 1619, John Jaggard was elected Underwarden of the Company. Probably, however, this was neither a mark of appreciation on the part of the poorer stationers nor a bribe for support of the richer members. It is more likely that the ruling members of the Company desired to keep John Jaggard's hands full with duties in order to keep him from stirring up more trouble against them. At least when he was elected Underwarden for a second time he chose to pay a fine of £5 rather than serve the office. About this time also, on 4th July 1620, John Jaggard's son, John, was admitted to the freedom of the Company (SR III, 685).

Despite the apparent drop in the amount of production of the Jaggard Press during the years 1611 to 1617, Jaggard was almost beyond doubt prospering. Besides the fact that he was able to publish such expensive books as Milles' *Treasurie*, Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* and Attersoll's *Commentarie on Numbers*, we have the additional evidence that Jaggard was able in 1618 to enter into a real-estate transaction which involved the ex-

penditure of a considerable sum of money. On the 27th of June of that year Sir Thomas Gourney and his wife in the County of Essex, together with Lawrence Caldwell, citizen and vintner of London, and William Jaggard, signed an indenture whereby Gourney leased to Jaggard the piece of ground known as Leg Alley off Fleet Street in the parish of St. Brides in the suburbs of London. Jaggard covenanted to pay £152 for the lease, to pull down all the buildings on both sides of the alley and to erect new ones equal in size to those which were there. Good material was to be used and skilful workmen employed. Sufficient chimneys, it was specified in particular, were to be provided and the alley was to be well paved. A rent, also, of £5 a year was to be paid and at every change of tenant a fee of 20s. was due Gourney and Caldwell or their heirs for their goodwill. At the end of fifty years the alley with its buildings in good condition was to be handed back to Gourney and Caldwell or their heirs or assigns. This lease was to begin on the feast of St. Michael 1621 [Husting Roll 295 (14) preserved in the Guild Hall Records Office].

The taking up of this lease no doubt involved the expenditure of a considerable amount of money. The £152 payment for the lease had a purchasing value of about ten times that of the present day, and as the cost of erecting the buildings specified was almost certainly much more than this payment, we can see that only a well-to-do man could undertake such an investment.

It is interesting to note also that William Jaggard and Richard Whitefield, cutler, probably his wife's brother-in-law, previously had leased part of this tenement. Jaggard indeed may have lived there before his removal to Roberts' house in Barbican.

CHAPTER XII

THE FALSELY DATED SHAKESPEARE QUARTOS OF 1619

THE prosperity of Jaggard, so we have every reason to believe, continued unchanged from 1618 until his death. Disease and blindness had not conquered him and when in 1619 the second volume of Milles' *Treasurie of Ancient and Modern Times* appeared, the foreword, "The Printer to the Reader", was written in a much more cheerful tone than was the preface of the first volume of six years before. He promised, in fact, that if this second volume were well received he would issue a third; but this was never published.

The year 1619 indeed was a memorable year in Jaggard's life. Production now jumped to 435 edition-sheets, comprising three extant books and a group of plays. One of the books was another reprint from Simon Waterson of Parson's *Second Part of the Book of Christian Exercise*. A larger and more expensive volume was Ralph Brooke's *Catalogue and Succession of Kings*, a book which through no fault of his own brought Jaggard into an irritating quarrel, the details of which will be treated in the following chapter. The second volume of Milles' *Treasurie*, the remaining non-dramatic work to be printed in 1619, was padded to

some extent with selections reprinted without mention of author or translator from books which Jaggard had previously issued. The English translation of Glover's *Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis*, as it had appeared in the *Catalogue of Honor* of his nephew, Milles, was again included in the *Treasurie*, and the title-frame and illustrations which had adorned the *Nobilitas* and the *Catalogue of Honor* were again employed to decorate the later volume. Portions, too, of Paré's *Method of curing Wounds* and Anthony Munday's *Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of Times* were also thrust into it. As this was a miscellany, however, the inclusion of these selections in the work seemed not to conflict with current publishing ethics. Jaggard also may have printed *A Discovery of the Jesuits in their most secret and intimate Consultations* which he registered on the 8th of March 1619, but, if so, no surviving copy has been identified.

Most important of all of Jaggard's activities in 1619 was the printing of ten plays in nine quartos, all of which but one *Henry V* bear the name of Shakespeare on their title-pages. These nine quartos Jaggard probably printed for his friend Thomas Pavier, who was evidently the chief instigator of the scheme of issuing them, for two co-operating stationers, Arthur Johnson and Nathaniel Butter, and for himself.

There was no doubt at this time a demand for Shakespeare's plays, but the opposition of the dramatist's company, the King's Players, supported by their powerful champion, the Lord Chamberlain,

had stayed the publication of any new plays since 1609 and with the exception of the three quartos issued by the rebellious printer Matthew Law in 1612, 1613 and 1615 (see Chapter XIV) had prevented even the reprinting of any of the plays of Shakespeare since 1611. The players, there is considerable reason to believe, during times when they were in need of money, had permitted, no doubt for a fee, certain of their plays to be printed from Shakespeare's autograph manuscript. If this is true, the stationers were justified in concluding that the opposition of the King's Men to the printing of these licensed plays was tyrannical and even dishonest conduct. Rebellion, as we have seen, was rife in 1618 among the poorer stationers of London, and it is not improbable that John Jaggard's successful protest against the unjust treatment which the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Company had accorded their less fortunate brethren, aroused others to complain against the policy of the King's Players in stopping the publication of their plays.

Thomas Pavier, in the purchase of the rights to *Henry V*, had outwitted Shakespeare's company in 1600 when it was less powerful and less vigilant than it later became (Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, inserted "Note" and pp. 38, 67), and although his copies were "stolen and surreptitious" he apparently decided to profit by the unrest in the company to re-issue his plays. Pavier held the copyrights of three plays of Shakespeare: *Henry V*,

in a corrupt and pirated text, and *Henry VI*, Parts 2 and 3, in early and mutilated versions known by the titles of *The Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster* and *The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York*. Besides these, it may be added, although it does not concern us in this chapter, he claimed the rights to *Titus Andronicus*, but this "copy" was also claimed by Edward White. But in addition to these plays of Shakespeare, Pavier owned the rights to two other plays which he either believed written by the dramatist or felt confident that purchasers would accept as Shakespeare's. The first of these, *A Yorkshire Tragedy* probably written by Thomas Heywood (Clark in *Proc. of Oxford Bibliographical Soc.*, 1925, 1, 109-10) had been both entered and published as the work of Shakespeare by Pavier in 1608. The second, the play of *Sir John Oldcastle*, written by Michael Drayton, Anthony Munday, Robert Wilson and Richard Hathaway, had been entered and published by Pavier in 1600 without indication of authorship. Circumstances led Pavier either to believe that this play was the work of Shakespeare or to conclude that he could induce others so to accept it. Sir John Falstaff in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* had originally borne the name of the Protestant martyr Sir John Oldcastle, but at the protest of his descendant, Lord Cobham, Shakespeare with apologies changed the name. In order to vindicate more thoroughly the character of the historical Oldcastle, the Lord Admiral's Company,

probably at the request of Cobham, produced *The True and Honorable Historie of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle* which depicted his life, virtues and martyrdom— a dull play, to be sure, but one filled with sentiments pleasing to the puritanical element. The former name, nevertheless, still survived and *Henry IV* was often referred to as “ Sir John Oldcastle ” just as *Twelfth Night* was sometimes known as “ Malvolio ”. There were, then, in popular speech two plays called “ Sir John Oldcastle ”, and Pavier deceived or deceiving placed on the title-page of his non-Shakespearian play the name of Shakespeare.

Besides these five plays of which he owned the rights, Pavier decided to publish another Shakespearian play, *Pericles*. This play had been regularly registered by Edward Blount on the 20th of May 1608 ; but Blount never published an edition of it. In the following year, however, Henry Gosson published two editions of the work in a very corrupt text. This was followed in 1611 by one published by Simon Stafford. As far as we know neither Gosson, Stafford nor Pavier had any rights in the book, but Pavier's seizure of the “ copy ” was evidently successful, for in 1626 his widow was able to transfer it to Brewster and Birde (SR iv, 164, 242).

Pavier, if our reconstruction of the circumstances is valid, simply planned to publish his quartos in defiance of the wishes of the players, in the same manner as did Law later in 1622. But he evidently

did not wish to be the sole offender against the King's Men, and so, if we interpret the evidence correctly, invited two other stationers, Arthur Johnson, who held the rights of a corrupt version of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and Nathaniel Butter who owned the rights of *King Lear*, to issue new editions of their "copies" at the same time that he published as Shakespeare's his five quartos.

Perhaps even before he had induced his two fellow stationers to adopt this rebellious attitude, Pavier took his quartos to his old friend William Jaggard to be printed. The prosperous Jaggard was far from being in that precarious financial condition which usually prompted printers to undertake such work as this, but at the same time several motives probably pressed him to accept the job : his friendship for Pavier, the sympathy which he had for the faction in the Company led by his brother who were contending against misused authority, and his desire to attract new patrons to his press in accordance with his new printing policy. Indeed, Jaggard not only agreed to print the quartos of Pavier, Johnson and Butter, but decided to join the movement and to print in a cautious manner for himself two plays, *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, which had been entered and published by Thomas Fisher in 1600, and *The Merchant of Venice*, which had been registered and published in the same year by Thomas Hayes. We know nothing of Fisher after the autumn of 1601; so we may conclude that he either died or went out of business. Hayes died

about 1603, leaving a young son, Lawrence Hayes, who in 1614 was made a freeman of the Stationers' Company. Jaggard, therefore, concluded that there would be no opposition in the Company to his seizure and printing of these two plays, neither of which had been published since 1600.

Late in 1618 or early in 1619, in all probability, Jaggard began work upon the printing of these plays. Bibliographical evidence enables us to fix the order in which the nine quartos five of which bear false dates and two of which are ascribed to a dead printer were printed :

2, 3, *Henry VI (The Whole Contention . . . Divided into two Parts)*. Printed at London, for T. P.

Pericles. Printed for T. P., 1619.

A Yorkshire Tragedy. Printed for T. P., 1619.

Merchant of Venice. Printed by J. Roberts, 1600.

Merry Wives of Windsor. Printed for Arthur Johnson, 1619.

King Lear. Printed for Nathaniel Butter, 1608.

Henry V. Printed for T. P., 1608.

Sir John Oldcastle. London, printed for T. P., 1600.

A Midsummer's Night's Dream. Printed by James Roberts, 1600.

The title-pages of *Pericles* and of *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, however, were not printed until after the text of the latter play had been completed. From this circumstance, coupled with the fact that *Pericles*

is linked by its signatures to *The Whole Contention*, and the fact that examples are known of the nine quartos having been bound in one volume, it has been concluded and that conclusion has been generally accepted that the quartos were originally intended to form part of one book. It has been argued that the present title-pages are in the nature of half-titles and that Jaggard intended to add a general title-page to the collection. Some bibliographers, in fact, think it possible that Jaggard may have printed this title-page and that some day a copy of it may be discovered. It has even been conjectured that these quartos represent an attempt on the part of Jaggard and Pavier to re-issue in a fat quarto volume all the printed plays of Shakespeare or, at least, all that were still popular as the collected works of the dramatist. Some have thought that to do this Jaggard was prepared to disregard the rights of the stationers who owned the "copies" while others have conjectured that the 1619 issues represent a part of an authorized edition in quarto form which was abandoned for the First Folio.

The supposition that Jaggard intended to issue in 1619 anything approaching the complete works of Shakespeare can, we think, be dismissed without much discussion. A volume containing about eighteen plays of Shakespeare sold at the approximate price of nine shillings would involve difficulties in marketing and financial risks arising out of dangers of confiscation too great, in all probability,

for Jaggard to consider. Then, too, Jaggard, as far as we know, was never guilty of any large scale encroachment on the rights of his fellow stationers and he would probably be even less prone to such an action when, as it seems, he was attempting to obtain booksellers as patrons of his press. That the 1619 quartos formed part of an authorized edition of Shakespeare's Works is disproved by the presence of non-Shakespearian plays, poor texts and false imprints.

It has nevertheless been established beyond all reasonable doubt that the 1619 quartos, or at least a large part of the edition, were sold in sets of nine. Two volumes of these nine quartos, which are all larger in size than any other early quarto editions of Shakespeare, both bound in eighteenth century bindings have been known ; one of them, however, has since been broken up. Besides these, three sets of these same nine quartos which may have been originally bound together have been known but one of these, again, has been destroyed by fire. When we remember that there are only enough copies extant to form about twenty-five complete sets of the 1619 quartos and the tendency at sales to break up bound volumes containing several Shakespearian quartos, the five discovered instances of these volumes being preserved together cannot be ascribed to the chance choices of book collectors. The 1619 quartos, then, we may conclude were, to a large extent at least, sold in sets of nine and were bound together by the four venturers or, as it is far more

likely, by the purchaser of the set. But that they were intended to form one book in the sense of an indivisible unit we greatly doubt. It is even unlikely, in our opinion, that the nine quartos can be compared to Jaggard's edition of Thomas Adams' *The Blacke Devill*, in which the second and third sermons are provided with an independent series of pagination and with separate title-pages so that if necessary these two sermons could be sold separately; the first sermon has no independent title-page, so in case the volume were broken up a special title-page would have had to be printed for it. From this it is evident that the original intention was to issue *The Blacke Devill* as one book. On the other hand, it seems to us that the evidence tends rather to point to the conclusion that the idea of marketing the nine quartos together was an afterthought. The continuation of the signature of *The Whole Contention* into *Pericles* the most weighty piece of evidence in favour of the theory that a continuous book was planned may be nothing more than an error which a compositor might easily commit, and the delay in the printing of the title-pages of *Pericles* and *The Yorkshire Tragedy* can have but little significance, because the title-page of *The Whole Contention* had already been printed, and the type for the lower portion of the title-pages of these two plays was kept standing after that of *The Whole Contention* was finished.

Without entering too deeply into the controversies which surround the 1619 editions of plays written

by or ascribed to Shakespeare, let us attempt to reconstruct the history of the printing of this set of quartos. Jaggard probably printed the quartos in the order in which they were brought to his shop. He commenced with three works owned or seized by Pavier. These he printed with his friend's initials and with either the correct date or none at all on the title-page. For himself, however, he printed *The Merchant of Venice*, but in arranging the title-page of this he took the precaution of substituting for his own name that of his recently deceased predecessor in his business, James Roberts, and for the date 1619 that of the publication of the previous quarto, 1600. But Johnson's quarto of *The Merry Wives* Jaggard dated 1619. Perhaps Johnson thought that there was less need for caution and did not wish to hurt the sale of his book by making the edition appear an unsold remainder. Butter and Pavier, however, evidently perceived the value of Jaggard's suggestions and the remaining plays with the exception of *Henry V* which is dated 1608, no doubt by error are dated the same as the original quartos. The work on the first eight quartos all of which were distinguished, it is worthy of note, by Jaggard's *Heb Ddim* device was continuous; with necessary changes the same setting of type, quads, ornament and furniture was used to print the lower portion of the title-pages of each of these pamphlets. Jaggard had used this labour-saving method previously in the printing of the main title-pages and those title-pages of the

second and third sermons of Adams' *Blacke Devill*. He had employed it also in printing the title-pages of entirely separate books as in the case of *A True Report of Certain Overflowings of Waters in Summer-set-shire* (1607) and the news-book which superseded it, *More Strange Newes* (1607), and in the case of Thomas Bell's *The Jesuites Antepart* (1608) and the same author's *The Tryall of the Newe Religion* (1608). This method of printing successive title-pages was in fairly common use and was by no means peculiar to Jaggard. Some time after he had finished work upon the other quartos, however, Jaggard printed *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and again "made bold" with Roberts' name. And to make the date look more authentic he employed Roberts' Half Eagle and Key device which he himself had used in Dekker's *Dead Tearme* (1608) and in Heywood's *Troia Britannica* (1609). If Jaggard had intended to include all of these plays in one book it would have been of no avail to antedate his own editions while two quartos printed before his bore the current date on the title-page. And even if we were to suppose that the date of these quartos had been added by accident we should not be able to account for *The Merry Wives* bearing the date 1619.

The evidence, then, in our opinion, as we have stated before, points to the conclusion that each of the four venturers expected to market his own quartos. Something, however, changed their plans. The reason we probably shall never know with certainty. Perhaps they were put on sale by the

different venturers as separate pamphlets, but more likely before any attempt was made to sell them in the city the players heard of the printing of the quartos. Certainly the players obtained a copy of at least one quarto, that of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for they used it as a prompt book. At any rate on the 3rd of May 1619 the powerful champion of the players, the Lord Chamberlain, sent a letter to the Stationers' Company directing that none of the plays owned by the King's Men should be printed without their consent. Perhaps the venturers had already disposed of their quartos to petty chapmen to be sold in the country or perhaps upon hearing the news that measures had been taken by the players they hastily sold them in a wholesale lot. Either, it would seem, the venturers or the country dealers had some of the sets of nine quartos bound together in order that they might be sold in larger lots or else the petty chapmen made a persistent effort to sell the sets together and the purchasers had the sets bound in one volume. There can be little doubt at the same time that the quartos were also sold separately, but as purchasers were no doubt less apt to bind up a sixpenny pamphlet than they were a four-and-sixpenny set of quartos, few of the separate plays in comparison would be preserved. The practice of binding these quartos as sets preserved them so well that of the 1619 editions of the plays more copies have survived than have those of any of the early quarto editions of Shakespeare.

Neither Jaggard nor his fellows seem to have suffered for their issue of these quartos unless, as it is not unlikely, they lost money because of being forced to make a quick sale. It is extremely improbable in our opinion that the quartos or any part of them were printed after the warning delivered on the 3rd of May 1619; so the authority of the Lord Chamberlain was not openly defied nor were the rights of any stationer openly infringed, though Lawrence Hayes, the son of Thomas Hayes, decided to safeguard his rights in *The Merchant of Venice* by registering, on the 8th of July 1619, his inheritance of the copy (SR III, 651). It is not impossible that Jaggard even escaped suspicion of having issued the quartos, despite the fact that they bore his printer's devices; at any rate two years later the players seem to have borne him no malice when they engaged him to print the Folio.

In fact, so well did Jaggard mystify readers with his antedated quartos that for almost three hundred years editors and scholars assumed that the dates they bore were correct. The discovery of the date and manner of their issue by Professor Alfred W. Pollard, Dr. W. W. Greg and Mr. William J. Neidig, aided by other workers such as the printer's descendant, Captain William Jaggard, constitutes one of the most brilliant contributions of bibliography to modern Shakespearian scholarship. But the story of the solution of this problem is beyond the scope of the present study; so we shall dismiss it by

citing in a note the principal documents in which the facts and the theories are treated.¹

¹ A. W. Pollard, "Shakespeare in the Remainder Market" in *The Academy* (June 2, 1906), *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, pp. 81-104, *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, 1920, pp. 100-102, "On the Supposed False Dates in Shakespearean Quartos" in *Library*, 3rd ser., I. (1910), 46 ff. II. (1911), 101 ff.; W. W. Greg "On Certain False Dates in Shakespearean Quartos" in *Library*, 2nd ser., LX. (1908), 113 ff., 381 ff., "The First Folio and its Publishers" in *Studies in the First Folio written for the Shakespeare Association*, pp. 129-59, W. J. Neidig, "The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619" in *Modern Philology* VIII. (1910), 145-163, "False Dates in Shakespeare Quartos" in *The Century Magazine* LXXX. (1910), 912-9, Sir Edmund Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* I. 33-7. The latter work also lists a bibliography of the controversy which raged between 1906 to 1910 over the interpretation of the evidence (I. 127).

CHAPTER XIII

JAGGARD'S CONTROVERSY WITH RALPH BROOKE

AFTER finishing work upon the Shakespeare quartos, the Jaggards produced another classic, this time one for which because it no doubt offended the taste of the more puritanical it might have been difficult to procure a licence, Boccaccio's *Decameron, containing an hundred pleasant Novels*. William Jaggard, however, obtained a licence for it from Master Tavenor acting on behalf of the Bishop of London and the book was entered in the register of the Company on the 22nd of March 1620 and published in two folio volumes with numerous illustrations. Isaac Jaggard's name appears on the title-page as printer. No trouble, there is every reason to believe, was experienced over this edition and the book sold well. The work had often been alluded to by English authors, and numerous versions and paraphrases of its tales had been incorporated into English books, but never until Jaggard issued this version by an unknown translator had a complete translation been available. In five years, in fact, the edition was exhausted and the publication of another edition was begun, this time evidently with rather disastrous results.

Besides this choice gem of the Italian renaissance

Jaggard printed and published a new work of his friend Thomas Wilson, *Saints by Calling*, a treatise on the doctrine of election written in a rather Calvinistic vein, another edition of Dering's *Catechisme*, and *A Defensive against the Poyson of False Prophetes* by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, reprinted from Charlwood's edition of 1583. The last named book was sold by Matthew Lownes, Jaggard's old neighbour when he was situated in St. Dunstan's Churchyard. All the books, then, which he printed in 1620, Jaggard himself published ; together they total about 335 edition-sheets.

The following year, 1621, was one of the most exciting years of Jaggard's life. In that year he printed or at least finished printing Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*. If we consider the two volumes of Milles' *Treasure*, which were separated from each other by six years as distinct books, this was the largest book which was ever issued from the Jaggard press ; including the preface and the index the volume contains over 1,350 large folio pages. The first edition of Raleigh's *History* had been printed for Walter Burre by William Stansby in 1614, but this was suppressed by the order of the Archbishop of Canterbury at the express command of the King (SR v, lxxvii). Another edition, however, was printed in 1617, and again Burre gave the printing of the book to Stansby. In 1621 or as it is far more likely in 1620 a new edition was called for, but this time Burre gave the contract to Jaggard an incident which, to judge by his later

behaviour, irritated Stansby. Jaggard printed the book from the 1617 edition and on the whole performed the task well. One error, however, has caused no little trouble to the students of Raleigh and has given Jaggard the credit of producing an edition which has never existed. Raleigh's *History of the World* has an engraved title-page so the date of an edition is fixed by a colophon at the end. The compositor who was printing the last page of the book had before him the following colophon: "London Printed by William Stansby for Walter Burre and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Crane 1617". He changed "Stansby" to "Jaggard" but mechanically reprinted "1617". After a number of sheets had been printed off the pressman or the proof-reader noted the error, and the date was changed to 1621, but some of the sheets in the uncorrected state were bound up with copies and thus was a "ghost" edition created.

In 1621 Jaggard had obtained a number of clients for his press. Besides printing Raleigh's *History* for Burre, he produced for him Sir Thomas Culpeper's *Tract against Usurie* and James Wats' *Controversie debated about the reverend Gesture of Kneeling in the Act of receiving the Holy Communion*. Indeed, had Burre lived he might have remained a valuable client of the printing house in Barbican. For his friend Pavier, Jaggard printed Philip Stubbes' biography of his wife, *A Christal Glass for Christian Women*, and for Michael Sparke a treatise

on the cure for the problem of poverty and unemployment entitled, *Greevous Grones for the Poore*. Michael Sparke remained a valuable patron of the press not only in the lifetime of Jaggard and his son but also during the proprietorship of his successors, Thomas and Richard Cotes.

Jaggard's known and extant books published in 1621 totalled about 465 edition-sheets, an amount almost equal to the production in 1607 and 1610. Part of the Raleigh's *History* which was published in this year was in all probability printed in 1620, but, on the other hand, as we shall see, almost one-third of William Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* and a like portion of André Favyn's *Theater of Honour and Knighthood*, which were not published until 1623, were also printed in this year.

Despite his blindness, the Stationers' Company pressed honours and duties upon Jaggard. On the 31st of May 1621 John Jaggard was elected to membership in the Court of Assistants, a position which had been left vacant by the death of John Harrison in 1618. To the place in the Livery of the Company left open by the promotion of his brother, William Jaggard was chosen, and Michael Sparke in turn was elected to the Yeomanry of the Company in place of William Jaggard. In the previous year also, on the 27th of March 1620, Isaac Jaggard had been elected to the onerous post of Renter-Warden and in the following year John Jaggard, when he desired to avoid serving for a second term the post of Under-Warden to which he was elected on the

6th of July 1622, was ordered to pay a fine of £5 for the privilege of refusing (Court Book C and Fine Book).

Jaggard in the summer of 1621 was peacefully working upon the folio edition of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* and Favyn's *Theater of Honour* when he was interrupted by a threatened attack by a former patron, Ralph Brooke. This led to a violent dispute, the prosecution of which must have cost him considerable money; but the unqualified victory which he obtained must, nevertheless, have gladdened the last year of his life.

Ralph Brooke was born in 1553, the son of a shoemaker. He was made free of the Painter-stainers' Company in 1576 and four years later was appointed Rouge Croix Pursuivant in the College of Arms. In 1593 he attained the office of York Herald but received no further advancement, and because of his grasping and jealous nature he was heartily disliked by his fellows in the Herald's College. In 1597 William Camden was appointed Clarenceux King of Arms, an office which Brooke coveted. Angered because one who, though a great scholar, was a newcomer into the Herald's College should be appointed to such a high office in it, Brooke in 1599 had printed probably for private distribution an attack on a famous work of Camden's, *A Discoverie of Certain Errours published in print in the much commended Britannia 1594: Very prediudiciall to the Discentes and Successions of the*



Ralph Brooke Esq
York Herald
Died on 1st Oct 1677 aged 75 Years

PORTRAIT OF RALPH BROOK,
from the second edition of his *DISCOVERIE* (1723)

Auncient Nobilitie of this Realme. To this attack Camden replied in a postscript to the 1600 edition of his *Britannia* and proved beyond doubt that Brooke because of his faulty Latin often misunderstood plain statements and thus thought them to be in error. Camden, nevertheless, silently introduced changes into the 1600 and subsequent editions to rectify errors which Brooke had pointed out. In 1602 Brooke not without considerable justification attacked Sir William Dethick for dishonesty and carelessness in the granting of coats of arms. One of the examples cited by Brooke was the grant to Shakespeare.

Jaggard formed the acquaintance of Brooke in or before 1619 and Brooke evidently induced Jaggard to permit him to make what Jaggard, at least, chose to consider a revision of Milles' *Catalogue of Honor* (1610). The work, a small folio of about 300 pages, was considerably shorter than Milles' *Catalogue*. It bore a long and boastful title: *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Viscounts of this Realme of England, since the Norman Conquest, to this present yeare, 1619. Together with their Armes, Wiues, and Children; the times of their deaths and burials, with many their (sic) memorable Actions. Collected by Raphe (sic) Brooke, Esquire, Yorke-Herauld: Discovering and Reforming many errours committed by men of other profession, and lately published in Print; to the great wronging of the Nobility, and Preiudice of his Maiesties Officers of Armes, who*

are onely appointed and sworne to deale faithfully in these causes, and was published by Jaggard in 1619.

Jaggard in all probability regretted having entered upon this association with Brooke long before the printing of his book was finished. Brooke made many discourteous remarks concerning Jaggard's friend, Thomas Milles, who as late as 1627 continued to have dealings with the family. Brooke published a list of Milles' errors, commented on them in an insolent manner, and ridiculed him and his use of the papers of his uncle Robert Glover in the reference to "these busy bodies catching by chance the imperfect notes of Heraults deceased". But this was not all. After the printing of the text had been finished, Brooke rather brazenly insisted that the printer take the responsibility for the author's errors as well as his own. Jaggard therefore published a list of "Faultes escaped in Printing", in which of the seventy-five errors noted but twenty-five could by any stretch of the imagination be attributed to the printer; the other fifty (and probably most of the remaining twenty-five also) were the mistakes of the author. The book was finally issued in a limited edition of 500 copies and over 300 copies were soon sold. Although this class of book could not have been expected to sell rapidly or in large quantities, Jaggard was no doubt disappointed by the fact that he was unable to dispose more quickly of this limited edition. At least, however, we may be sure Jaggard was glad to be

rid, as he thought, of his disagreeable client. But rid of him he was not.

Brooke argued in his dedications to the King, to the Earl of Worcester, and to other members of the Privy Council that, because all honours proceeded from the King, a mistake in an heraldic work was an affront to the King's dignity. Furthermore, he assured the objects of his address, these errors were numerous in the works of other writers whom he was prepared to correct. This boastful tone would have rendered it easy for his enemies to make caustic remarks in reply even if his book had contained but the normal amount of shortcomings, but unfortunately his *Catalogue* teemed with errors, many of them gross ones, and Brooke did not lack enemies both within and without the Heralds' College to exult in his discomfiture. Nay, more, they resolved to make it appear, if possible, that his blunders were slanders intended to offend the noblemen whose genealogies he had treated. Unfortunately for Brooke, his history of the family of the Earl of Arundel, the Earl Marshal of England and therefore the head of the College of Arms, was particularly faulty, and statements which he inadvertently made could be construed as reflecting upon the right of the Earl to his title. The Earl, we may be sure, did not lack informants from the Heralds' College and elsewhere, who pointed out the blunders which Brooke had made and suggested the worst possible motives for them. Because of this, Brooke soon stood "under the frownes of

Greatnesse". This turn of events would have grieved any man, but one who could write so boastful a preface to his work must have suffered intensely. His pride would not permit him to acknowledge his shortcomings; so remembering how he had been able to shift on to the printer in the *errata* leaves of his book the blame for a few of his errors, he decided to try this expedient once more on a larger scale and to publish a second edition in which the responsibility for practically all the faults of his first edition should be put upon Jaggard.

Brooke went seriously to work to revise his book and evidently in the early autumn of 1621 he induced William Stansby, who probably bore Jaggard a grudge because he had obtained from Burre the contract for printing Raleigh's *History of the World*, to undertake the printing of it. Jaggard's feelings, when he heard of the projected second edition of Brooke's *Catalogue*, may well be imagined. Brooke had insulted Milles, had attributed his own errors to Jaggard, and now was not only about to spoil the sale of the "almost two hundred" copies which remained on the printer's hands "rotting by the walles" by issuing a corrected second edition, but in doing this intended to attack Jaggard's reputation as a printer. Jaggard's first impulse may have been to appeal to the Court of the Stationers' Company to stop the printing and sale of the book. Unfortunately, however, Jaggard had not entered Brooke's work in the Register of the Company and although he denounced the second edition of it as

“ unauthorized ” and made at “ the Printers perill ”, we have no record of Jaggard’s having taken any action to stop its publication.

Evidently at about the same time that Stansby began the printing of the second edition of Brooke’s *Catalogue*, a young Pursuivant of Arms, Augustine Vincent, offered Jaggard a long list of corrections to Brooke’s first edition. Vincent was a friend of Camden and in mockery of the title of the York Herald’s attack upon that great antiquary, Vincent named his work, also, *A Discoverie of Errours*. The work, an exact reprint of the 1619 edition with a caustic commentary by Vincent, was promptly registered in the Hall Book of the Company on the 29th of October 1621, in such a manner as to cast reflections upon Brooke’s edition : “ Master William Jaggard. Entred for his copie under the handes of the Earle of Arondell, Earle Marshall of England and both the wardens, A booke called *A Catalogue of Honour*, first set forth by Thomas Milles and secondlie corrected and set forth by Ralphe Brooke, Yorke Herald and now thirddie corrected and set forth by Augustine Vincent Pursu(v)ant at Arms ” (SR iv, 60). By this entry Jaggard adroitly attempted to register Brooke’s 1619 edition, although Brooke could reasonably contend that his work was not a revision of Milles’ *Catalogue* but an entirely new composition.

Work on Vincent’s book probably began at Jaggard’s shop soon after Stansby had begun printing the second edition of the York Herald’s

Catalogue and Succession. Stansby, if we may believe Jaggard, urged on by Brooke, worked night and day (made "the Presse walke by Moone-light") to forestall the publication of Vincent's *Discoverie*. Jaggard, desiring to give Brooke and Stansby as close a race as possible, stopped work on both the folio edition of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories & Tragedies* and Favyn's *Theater of Honour* and devoted his whole attention to the finishing of Vincent's *Discoverie*. Brooke's work, however, was shorter than Vincent's, and Stansby no doubt began the printing of his author's book before Jaggard was able to commence work on *The Discoverie*; so Brooke's treatise was the first to be published. It bore the title, *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Viscounts of this Realme . . . to this present yeere 1622 . . . Collected by Raphe Brooke, Esquire, Yorke-Herauld, and by him enlarged, with amendment of diuers faultes, committed by the Printer, in the time of the Authors sicknesse*. No printer is named on the title-page and Brooke, if Jaggard is to be credited, had the work reprinted "at his owne charge"; there is little doubt that he gave away a large number of copies. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, the second edition of Brooke's *Catalogue* was considerably enlarged as well as corrected. Stansby's printing also, although it was done in such haste, was more attractive in appearance than that of Jaggard. The presswork is better and the layout more carefully planned. Again, the many

blank shields which appear in the 1619 edition are in 1622 almost all replaced by shields displaying arms.

Brooke's tone was different from what it had been three years before. The list of Milles' errors and the second dedication in which he spoke so slightly of other genealogists were omitted. Instead, Brooke even confessed that he might "have failed in some things (which is not impossible in such a taske as this)", but nevertheless he pointed out to those who went about to censure him that they, too, might "faile in many more materiall points whensoever they (should) undertake the like employment".

When the second edition of Brooke's *Catalogue* appeared Vincent studiously noted the errors which remained uncorrected and the new mis-statements which the York Herald introduced while he was making his revisions. His comments on these Vincent published as the second part of his work. Probably in the late spring or early summer of 1622 Vincent's book was put on sale. It bore the title, *A Discoverie of Errours in the first Edition of The Catalogue of Nobility, published by Raphe Brooke, Yorke Herald, 1619 and printed herewith Word for Word according to that Edition. With a Continuance of the Successions, from 1619 untill this present yeare 1622: at the end whereof, is annexed a Review of a later edition, by him stolne into the world 1621.* Vincent's work completely demolished the pretensions of Brooke. Vincent had familiarized himself

with the state documents preserved in the Tower of London, and therefore was able to cite original sources, whereas Brooke was content to use printed books and the manuscript collections of other heralds and for this reason Vincent was able to correct him on points where he was but voicing the accepted opinion. But besides this, Vincent was able to convict the York Herald of gross carelessness in many places of misreading of old handwriting and of faulty Latin. In short, he pulverized Brooke's pretensions.

It is with Jaggard's defence of his own skill as a printer, contained in his preface "The Printer", with which we are most concerned.¹ Jaggard's skill as a printer, it must be remembered, has a particular interest for us in 1622, when the First Folio edition of Shakespeare lay unfinished in the printing house in Barbican, and in this preface, defence of his ability tells us several things regarding the manner in which his establishment was conducted.

Jaggard begins his defence by castigating Brooke for his concert. If he had admitted his unfitness for the undertaking, he writes, "his good intention

¹ There is no valid reason in our opinion for concluding, as did Mr M. H. Nicolas, that the printer's preface was written for him by Vincent (*Memoir of Augustine Vincent*, 1827, pp 48-50), though it is quite probable that Vincent may have helped his friend in its composition. Certainly the preface ascribed to Jaggard differs stylistically from the preface of Vincent and his letter to Brooke. Vincent's style, for example, is replete with classical quotations and allusions, but the printer's preface is almost bare of these ornaments.

might perhaps have qualified the rashness of his attempt : and his honest confession have salved the oversights of his booke. But he takes a quite opposite course ; for in the Preface of his new printed *Catalogue* (to make the Porch suteable to the house) he welcomes his reader with an untrue *Protestation* that the Errors of his former Edition were not to be imputed to his owne *blindnesse* but to the blindness of his Printer, by whom *divers faultes and many mistakings were committed whilst the good mans sicknesse absented him from the Presse*". This "imputation", Jaggard continues, "I should not greatly need to have stood upon if his preface could have fallen into no hands but the *judicious Readers* to whom it was directed, such (I mean) as understood the Presse, and him : so on the contrarie part, M. Yorke must knowe, that I owe my self that justice and my poore credit so much right as not to heare my name publickely proclaimed, and pasted on the fore-front of a book, for those faults whereunto the Author can onely be [the] Principall, howsoever he hath made my Presse accessarie. But first, what tares were those which the enemy sowed while the good man slept ? Of what qualitie are those faults committed by the Printer in the time of his sicknesse ? "

Jaggard then proceeds to differentiate between the "literall faultes some of which kinde might perhaps escape the Printer" concerning which he holds that "there was no fear that the meanest Reader were like to stumble at such strawes nor the

most captious Adversaire would go hawking after syllables ” and errors of real importance which changed the sense of the statements. No printer, Jaggard argues, would make such mistakes as to print “ Chancellor ” for “ Treasurer ”, the “ Tower of London ” for “ Hampton Court ” or the more serious errors such as the omissions and misstatements which seriously reflected upon the right to the title of the Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal of England. These blunders for which the York Herald stood “ under the Frownes of Greatnesse ”, Jaggard maintains, and not the “ literall faultes ”, some of which might have been committed by the printer, caused Brooke to publish a corrected edition of his work.

Even the literal errors, Jaggard continues, were for the most part the fault of the author. It was useless for “ Master Yorke ” to maintain that the printer committed these errors when his “ sicknesse confining him to his chamber and *absenting him from the Presse* ” he was unable to read the proofs, because “ in the time of this his unhappy sicknesse, though hee came not in person to over-looke the Presse, yet the *Proofe* and *Reviews* duly attended him, and he perused them (as is well to be justified) in the maner he did before ”. And even “ while in his time of health he carefully visited the Presse all those grosse untruths . . . crept into the text . . . And lastly the Workemen of that booke offer to joyne issue with Master Yorke, that he shall not shew almost any of those verball mistakings, which

they cannot fasten upon himself and produce in their discharge, a sufficient warrant under his owne hand, which in this case cannot deceive” in all probability, the author’s allowed manuscript.

In fact, Jaggard maintains that his compositors, far from adding materially to the errors, greatly reduced them by correcting the author’s manuscript as they set up the book. Brooke’s clerkship, he states, was so poor that by misreading old manuscripts he obtained from them the most startling statements. Jaggard cites several of these from the printed edition and adds that there are a number of others “yet extant in his Copie : which if the Work-men had been so madly disposed to tie themselves too and have given him leave to print his owne English, which they now repent they did not, he would (they say) have made his reader as good sport in his Catalogue as ever *Tarleton* did his Audience in a clownes part”.

“ Thus ”, says Jaggard beginning his final attack on Brooke, “ I hope I have . . . washt my hands cleane of that aspersion which he casts upon me concerning the Errors of his Booke, the main Error excepted of defiling my fingers at all with his pitch which cleaves so fast to my hands as I shall never shake them off but with losse ; wherein if ever againe I be taken faulty, let that curse light upon me, which I prophesie will befall any Printer that hath to doe with him : that he worke by day in feare and like a theefe in the night : that he bring forth his works like bastard fruits by stealth and vent them

in corners like stolne Wares, and that in recompence of all his paines his reward be no other but losse and repentance by the Worke and detraction and disgrace from the Author ”.

Jaggard concludes his preface by defending his ability as a printer despite his handicap of blindness : “ I have satisfied myself . . . that M. Yorke may understand, it touches a Printer as much to maintaine his reputation in the Art he lives by, as a Herald in his Profession, and that if any affront be done me in that kinde, I shall be ever as sensible of it, as hee would be of the like done to himselfe : howsoever it hath pleased God to make me, and him to style me a Blinde-Printer, though I could tell him by the way, that it is no right conclusion in schooles, that because *Homer* was Blinde and a *Poet*, therefore hee was a *Blinde-Poet*. FAREWELL ”.

Thus ended the quarrel between Brooke and Jaggard. The dispute must have been waged at a considerable financial loss. The nearly two hundred copies of the first edition of Brooke’s *Catalogue* after the work had been proved so faulty were probably unsaleable except to shopkeepers as wrapping paper. Nor can we believe that Vincent’s work was a very profitable one probably it did not cover the cost of production. But the printer’s victory was unqualified ; the slander on “ his reputation in the Art he lived by ” had effectually been answered.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PRINTING OF THE FIRST FOLIO OF SHAKESPEARE¹

THE dispute between Jaggard and Brooke would have been of little significance if the quarrel had not caused an interruption in the printing of the most precious book in the English language and placed posterity in danger of losing one-half of the plays of Shakespeare. In or shortly before the year 1621, Shakespeare's fellow-actors decided to issue a collected edition of his dramatic works. It is not unlikely that they were led to this decision by the fact that Ben Jonson in 1616 had published his *Workes* and thus influenced these friends of Shakespeare to desire that a similar volume should honour his memory. To bring this about, however, was not as simple as it may appear. Eighteen plays of Shakespeare had already been published in quartos and before these plays could be included in a volume of his collected works the consent of the owners of the "copies" would have to be obtained. A list of these plays, arranged under the names of the stationers who owned the copyrights, will indicate the problem and give us a

¹ For the typographical evidence upon which this chapter is based, see the author's *The Printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, chapters I and III.

picture of what might now have been our remnant of the fruits of Shakespeare's genius if Jaggard had not consented to issue the First Folio :

John Smethwick.

Love's Labour's Lost.

Romeo and Juliet.

Hamlet.

William Aspley.

Much Ado about Nothing.

2 Henry IV.

Edward White.

Titus Andronicus. (Claimed also by Pavier.)

Thomas Pavier.

Henry V. (In a corrupt text.)

2 Henry VI. (In a corrupt text.)

3 Henry VI. (In a corrupt text)

Pericles. (In a corrupt text. Claim open to dispute.)

Arthur Johnson.

Merry Wives of Windsor. (In a corrupt text)

Lawrence Hayes.

Merchant of Venice.

? William Jaggard.

Midsummer's Night's Dream. (Seized as derelict.
Claim open to dispute.)

Nathaniel Butter.

King Lear.

Matthew Law.

Richard II.

1 Henry IV.

Richard III.

Henry Walley.

*Troilus and Cressida.*¹

Besides these eighteen plays of Shakespeare, the rights in two old plays, out of which by revision the dramatist had made his comedy *The Taming of the Shrew* and his history *King John*, were held by stationers, and as Shakespeare's dramas were evidently considered merely as later editions of the older plays and therefore commercially identical with them (Chambers, *Shakespeare*, I, 323, 364-5), the consent of one and probably both of these stationers also had to be obtained :

John Smethwick.

The Taming of a Shrew.

Thomas Dewe

The Troublesome Reign of King John. (Seized as derelict. Claim open to dispute.)

It was no doubt apparent to the players that to them and to the printer of the contemplated volume would fall the difficult task of obtaining from the owners of the copies permission to include these published plays in the collected edition. Some of the stationers, to be sure, would ask but a fair compensation for the use of their rights, but there was also a disaffected element who might make ex-

¹ Edward Blount on the 20th of May 1608 entered for his copy *Anthony and Cleopatra*, but as he never printed it and later in partnership with Isaac Jaggard entered it again in 1623, we may conclude that he had forgotten about his right, if indeed the transaction were not merely a blocking entry intended to safeguard the interests of the players.

orbitant demands in retaliation for the policy of the players in stopping them from printing their licensed plays.

We should not, at first thought, expect Jaggard to be the printer of the authorized version of Shakespeare's dramatic works, by the publication of which the poet's company, headed by John Heminge and Henry Condell, sought "to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend & Fellow alive". They could not have forgotten *The Passionate Pilgrim* incident, and if they knew of it, they no doubt disapproved even more strongly of the printing by Jaggard of the 1619 quartos. The fact that Jaggard was entrusted with the printing of the volume has usually been explained by the assumption that he was on rather close terms with the King's Company because, as it has been believed, he had printed for a number of years the posters with which the players advertised their performances. It seems unlikely, however, as we have seen in Chapter VIII, that Jaggard ever printed any bills for any company other than the Earl of Worcester's or Queen Anne's Men. Moreover, whatever rights in the "players billes" Jaggard may have had, they were not held undisputed. In October 1618 Thomas Symcock applied for a patent which he soon obtained for the sole printing of briefs and papers "on one side" which included "all Billes for Playes, Pastimes, Showes, Challenges, Prizes, or Sports whatsoever". This privilege was contested by the Stationers' Company and we do not know how rigidly the monopoly was

enforced, but it was not until 1629 that the patent was withdrawn.¹ The evidence, then and in fact the entire career of Jaggard points against the conclusion that Jaggard in 1621 was printing play-bills for the King's Company and that he was given the printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare because of any association he may have had with the players.

Heminge and Condell, in fact, probably did not find it easy to obtain a publisher for the volume. There was, to be sure, a demand for Shakespeare's plays in quarto, but the projected folio would present an altogether different marketing problem. A young gallant of the Inns of Court, for example, could afford sixpence for a play readily enough, but before he paid £1 for a volume of plays, plus 2s. for binding that is, translated into present day values, about £11 in all he would stop and consider carefully. The high cost of large folio books caused them to be limited almost entirely to serious works of theology, law, heraldry, medicine and other subjects which would be needed by certain classes of readers for professional purposes. The publication of a book of so frivolous a nature as a collection of plays in so expensive a form was probably considered a very hazardous undertaking by the members of the book trade. In fact, precedent seemed

¹ R. B. McKerrow and others, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640* (London, Bibliographical Soc., 1910, pp. 261-2), Lawlence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II. 66-67, SR V. lvm.

to be against it. In 1616 William Stansby printed the *Workes* of Ben Jonson, and to judge from the length of time which elapsed between the publication of the first and second editions twenty-four years this book was not a very successful venture. Despite Shakespeare's great popularity, a stationer might well reason that inasmuch as the publication of the collected works of England's foremost living dramatist had not proved successful commercially, the issue of the plays of an author who had been dead for five years would also prove an unprofitable undertaking.

Again, the cost of the production of the volume would be large. Shakespeare's friends evidently demanded that it appear upon good paper and that it should be illustrated with a portrait of the author. Above all, the owners of the copyrights would have to be satisfied and this might bring about costly complications which careful printers desired to avoid. Heminge and Condell probably followed the usual procedure of persons desiring to have books published, and submitted their proposals to different printers until they were able to reach an agreement (Willoughby in *The Library World*, 1931, xxxiii, 231-2). No wide choice was possible. The printers of London, hampered by the decrees of the Star Chamber, numbered only about twenty, and of these a considerable portion were too poor to undertake the printing and publication of a large and costly volume. There is no reason to suppose that Jaggard was the first printer approached by

Heminge and Condell; but, on the other hand, there is no necessity to assume that the players regarded him with any animosity. In fact, Heminge and Condell were in all probability glad to obtain as the printer of the works of their friend a man of substantial means and of experience in the handling of folio volumes.

It is not unlikely, however, that the decision to print Shakespeare's First Folio came largely as a result of the influence of Isaac Jaggard. William Jaggard's name had appeared on the title-page of no literary work published by the Barbican press since the affair of *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1612. William, as we have seen, had specialized in theology and the three works of literature which he had openly published in the nine years which intervened between 1612 and 1621 had all appeared with Isaac's name in the imprint. This fact seems to show Isaac's tastes and for this reason we should expect to find him ready to the proposals of Heminge and Condell. Moreover, the two-volume illustrated folio edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1620) which appealed to the same reading-public to which the projected edition of the dramatic works of Shakespeare would have to be sold, had evidently been a financial success, and this fact no doubt encouraged Isaac and his father to undertake the publication and printing of *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*.

Jaggard's first task was to obtain the permission of the holders of the copyrights to include in the

volume the plays of which they held the rights. Jaggard first, so it would seem, induced two holders of copyrights to join him in the venture John Smethwick, who owned the rights of four plays, and William Aspley, who owned those of two others. The other owners of rights had to be induced to consent to the printing of their plays, and two of them, as we shall see, objected to the inclusion of their copies in such a manner as to interrupt the course of the printing.

Sometime after April 1622, to judge by the form of entry in Bill's *Catalogue*, when at least one-third of the volume had been printed, Edward Blount entered the venture. Jaggard, as we have seen (Chapter XI), had had business relations with Blount in 1614 and was no doubt glad to secure as a partner in the enterprise a stationer with his capital and experience in the marketing of literary pieces (S. Lee in *Bibliographica*, 1895, I, 474-98).

The copy for the collected edition of Shakespeare's works was selected with considerable care. That the players desired the edition to contain only the authentic plays of their friend is evidenced by the omission of *Pericles*, the rights in which was owned by Jaggard's ally, Pavier, evidently because so large a part of it was of non-Shakespearian authorship. Again, although we know that the statement made on the title-page and in the address "To the great Variety of Readers" that the work was "Published according to the True Originall Copies", that is, set up from Shakespeare's autograph manu-

script, is not correct in regard to several of the plays, nevertheless all the plays which existed only in corrupt quarto texts were replaced in the Folio by good texts printed from manuscript, and in some cases, even where the quarto text was fairly good, Jaggard and the players in order to better it used manuscript copy, although this was more difficult for the compositor. In some of these instances and in the case of some of the previously unpublished plays it is not unlikely that Shakespeare's autograph manuscript served Jaggard's journeymen as copy (Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, pp. 117-20 ; Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 143-5).

In planning the arrangement of the volume it was determined to divide it into three sections Comedies, Histories and Tragedies each with a separate series of pagination and signatures. This arrangement proved a very convenient one to the printer (Willoughby in *Modern Language Notes*, 1929, XLIV, 373-4) and had the sale of the book been slow it would have permitted the book to have been separated into three smaller parts and each section to have been sold at a proportionately lower cost. This expedient, however, was not resorted to, for the volume sold so well that in 1632 Jaggard's successor, Richard Cotes, issued a second edition.

About August 1621, shortly perhaps immediately after the printing of Raleigh's *History of the World* had been finished, Jaggard began work upon the First Folio of Shakespeare. At first he proceeded in his usual manner, printing the volume with one

of his two presses while with the other he worked upon Favyn's *Theater of Honour*. For some reason, not unlikely a desire to satisfy the anxiety of Heminge and Condell to have the book published as soon as possible, Jaggard when he had reached the beginning of the third comedy devoted the entire resources of his shop to the printing of the dramatic works of Shakespeare. This concentration of effort was continued until the beginning of the last gathering of the next to the last comedy, *Twelfth Night*, had been reached, when only one press was employed. The copy for the last of the comedies, *Winter's Tale*, was not available at this time, so Jaggard's journeymen began work upon the Histories. They finished the first of the Histories, *King John*, and the first two pages of the second, *Richard II*, when Jaggard, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, interrupted the printing of all of his books in order to devote the entire resources of his establishment to the finishing of Vincent's *Discoverie*.

Work upon the First Folio probably ceased about the time of the registration of Vincent's *Discoverie* on the 29th of October 1621. Jaggard, nevertheless, still had hopes of speedily completing it, for in John Bill's London edition of the *Mess-Katalog* of the Frankfurt Book-fair, *A Catalogue of such bookes as have beene published and (by authoritie) printed in English since the last Vernall Mart which was in Aprill 1622 till this present October 1622*, are advertised Vincent's *Discoverie*, Favyn's *Theater* and the "Playes written by M. William Shakespeare, all



TITLE PAGE OF BURTON'S *LEICESTERSHIRE*

in one volume, printed by Isaack Iaggard in fol.” (F. P. Wilson in *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 5 Nov. 1925, p. 737). After the printing of the *Discoverie of Errouns* had been completed, however, Jaggard did not immediately resume work upon the First Folio. Instead, he printed in 1622 a third edition of Thomas Wilson’s *Christian Dictionary* a “copy” he no doubt found very profitable *The Description of Leicester Shire* by William Burton, a relative of Augustine Vincent (published by John White) and two or three smaller books¹ and resumed work upon Favyn’s *Theater of Honour* (1623) which, if we may this time trust the entry in Bill’s *Catalogue* for September 1622 to April 1623, was published in the late winter or early spring of 1623. This delay, however, could not have been pleasing to Heminge and Condell. Probably they expressed their impatience by permitting, about the time that Jaggard stopped work upon the First Folio, Thomas Walkley to enter on the 6th of October 1621 “for his copie under the hands of Sir George Buck and Master Swinehowe warden, *The Tragedie of Othello, the moore of Venice*” (SR iv, 59) which Walkley published in the following year.

In 1622, also, Thomas Dewe published as Shakespeare’s the third edition of the old play *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, and Matthew Law issued the Sixth Quartos of both *Richard III* and *1 Henry IV*. With the exception of the quartos of 1619 no new edition of any of the plays of Shakespeare had

¹ See below, pp. 198, 252, 283

appeared since 1615, and after 1611, it is significant to note, only three Shakespearian quartos had been openly issued, the Fifth Quarto of *Richard III* (1612), of 1 *Henry IV* (1613) and of *Richard II* (1615), all of which were published by Matthew Law. This falling-off in the publication of Shakespeare's plays, as we have seen (Chapter XII), was almost beyond doubt the result of pressure brought upon the stationers by the King's Men, supported by their powerful champion, the Lord Chamberlain. The pressure was probably fairly gentle at first, but the publication of these quartos seems to indicate a rebellious spirit which may have required harsher measures to repress. At any rate, in 1622 Law decided to assert himself. The players had been able to prevent him from publishing plays of Shakespeare in which he held the copyrights, but on the other hand, he could prevent any other stationer from issuing *Richard II*, 1 *Henry IV*, and *Richard III*. Realizing that the King's Men would have to come to him for permission to include these three plays in the dramatist's collected works, Law, probably animated by the same spirit which moved Pavier in 1619, decided to profit by the strength of his position and probably late in 1622 issued 1 *Henry IV* and *Richard III*. Dewe, probably acting in collusion with Law, though his position was less strong, published *The Troublesome Reign*.

The King's Men, however, evidently did not hesitate to answer Law's challenge. Evidently at their request, the Lord Chamberlain addressed to

the Stationers' Company a letter "concerning the printing of playes" which on the 3rd of March 1622-3 was read to all the master-printers (Court Book C). To judge from the Lord Chamberlain's interference in favour of the King's Players in 1619 and later in 1637 (Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 135-6) this letter referred particularly to Law, Dewe and their printers, Nicholas Oakes and Augustine Matthewes, just as the warning of 1619 was directed against Pavier, Jaggard and their associates. At least, no more Shakespearian quartos were published from the date of the reading of the Lord Chamberlain's letter until 1629, when the prohibition seems to have fallen into abeyance only to be revived again in 1637.

Law was probably admonished some time before this general warning and he was no doubt angered by this action of the players. In retaliation, he forbade Jaggard to include his "copies", *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV* and *Richard III*, in the First Folio. Jaggard had recommenced work upon the volume about April or May 1623 and had resumed the printing of *Richard II*. He had finished only one gathering, however, when Law forbade him to proceed any further with it. Jaggard therefore broke off work at this point and completed the Comedies section by printing *Winter's Tale*, a play which but for the interruption in the printing might have been omitted altogether from the volume (J. D. Wilson, in *New Shakespeare, Tempest*, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 109-13). Then, as the arrange-

ment of the Histories was chronological and he felt confident that he could satisfy Law, Jaggard calculated the amount of space which would be needed for *Richard II* and the two parts of *Henry IV* and began printing *Henry V*. The negotiations, nevertheless, were protracted. After about two months, and not until Jaggard had completed *Henry V*, the first and second parts of *Henry VI*, and was printing the third part of the latter play, Law agreed to allow his copies to be included in the volume. Jaggard evidently immediately began to print the omitted plays, but found that he had not left sufficient space for them and was forced to insert an extra gathering and to duplicate numbers 69-100 in the pagination, a fact which, until the cause of it was known, earned him the reputation of a clumsy printer.

The printing was then continued and all went peacefully until the third tragedy had been finished and work had been begun upon *Troilus and Cressida*. This, with the possible exception of *Pericles*, had been the last new play of Shakespeare to be published before the printing of the Folio had been begun, and in the preface to the quarto (1609) the publishers, Richard Bonian and Henry Walley hinted that "the grand possessors", evidently the King's Company, had opposed publication. Walley, the surviving member of the partnership, probably bore a grudge against the players because of this action, and as Law's policy had evidently been financially advantageous he decided to imitate it. He therefore forbade Jaggard to include *Troilus*

in the Folio. Jaggard had already printed three pages of this play and, feeling that this difficulty also could be adjusted, left room for *Troilus* and proceeded with the printing of the volume. Walley's demands, however, were evidently exorbitant and when the printing of *Cymbeline* was almost finished and the copy for only one other play besides *Troilus* remained, it was decided to omit Walley's "copy" altogether. At the end of *Cymbeline*, therefore, was printed a colophon, "Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke and W. Aspley, 1623", and in the place reserved for *Troilus* was thrust *Timon*, a short play which did not entirely fill the vacant space.

The title-page and the preliminary leaves were then printed and the book was ready for registration and sale. Before any copies of the Folio were sold, however, Walley, seeing that Isaac Jaggard was actually planning to publish the volume without including *Troilus*, evidently hastened to make the best terms he could with him. As the place which had been reserved for the play was now occupied and the end of the volume was marked with a colophon, *Troilus* was thrust between the Histories and the Tragedies (J. Q. Adams in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1908, VII, 1, 53-63). The volume was then taken to Dr. Thomas Worrall, a prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, for licence, and after this had been obtained the clerk made an entry for the book in the Register of the Stationers' Company :

8^o Novembris 1623

Master Blounte Isaak Jaggard	Entred for their Copie vnder the hands of Master Doctor Worrall and master Cole Warden Master William Shakspeers <i>Comedyes Histories and Tragedyes</i> soc manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men viz ¹ vij ^a .
	<i>The Tempest.</i> <i>The Two Gentlemen of Verona.</i> <i>Measure for Measure.</i>
Comedyes	<i>The Comedy of Errors.</i> <i>As you like it</i> <i>All's well that ends well</i> <i>Twelc Night.</i> <i>The winters tale.</i>
Histories	<i>The third parte of Henry ye sixt</i> ¹ <i>Henry the eight.</i> <i>Coriolanus.</i> <i>Timon of Athens.</i> <i>Julius Caesar.</i>
Tragedies	<i>Mackbeth.</i> <i>Anthonie & Cleopatra.</i> <i>Cymbeline</i> (SR IV, 107).

Immediately after registration, in all probability, the *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* of William Shakespeare were given to the world. On the 17th of February 1624 the Bodleian Library sent a copy deposited no doubt by Isaac Jaggard under the terms of an agreement made by Sir Thomas Bodley and the Stationers' Company to its binder, William Wildgoose (S. Gibson, *Early Oxford Bindings*, Bibliographical Soc., 1903, p. 53). William Jaggard,

¹ Evidently an error for 1 Henry VI.

however, did not live to witness the publication of the book with which his name will always be associated. Shortly before the 4th of November 1623 he died (Welch in *Trans. of Bibliographical Soc.*, 1919, xiv, 193 ; F. P. Wilson in *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 5, 12 Nov. 1925, pp. 737, 756). His son, however, remembered a promise which his father had made to a man who was largely responsible for the more than a year's delay in the publication of the First Folio and for the circumstances probably of its appearance altogether. Isaac Jaggard gave Augustine Vincent a copy of Shakespeare's First Folio. The scholarly young Rouge-Croix Pursuivant of Arms was no doubt touched by this memento, this last book to be printed by his deceased friend. In his copy he wrote the words, "Ex dono Willelmi Jaggard Typographi, a^o 1623".

With the publication of the First Folio, Shakespeare's literary reputation was assured. Because they were replaced by good texts those plays which had been issued in corrupt texts in quarto could not rise to affront the memory of their author. Again, with his plays gathered in one volume a unified impression could easily be gained of Shakespeare's art and genius. Jaggard performed well his task of preserving one-half of Shakespeare's works. To be sure, he printed the book in the manner of one who desired to make a profit from his labour, little realizing that he was dealing with the works of the greatest poet in the English language. The manuscript from which his journey-

men printed was no doubt often old and interlined, and despite the skill of Jaggard's compositors in handling ragged copy to which both Wilson and Crooke testify (Chapter X) errors sometimes occurred. Again, we have reason to believe that the compositors and proof-readers modernized Shakespeare's old-fashioned spelling and punctuation, and out of a mistaken zeal probably sometimes attempted to mend his grammar. But these instances are relatively few and unimportant. On the whole the Jaggards have given us the authentic text of Shakespeare as they found it and for this service William and Isaac Jaggard will deserve forever the heartfelt gratitude of all who love to read and hear the words of the great poet.

CHAPTER XV

DEATH

AFTER his victory over Brooke, William Jaggard, despite his disease and blindness, maintained an active interest in his business; but there is reason to believe, nevertheless, that during the last year of his life he suffered greatly from ill-health. The close of Jaggard's dedication of the English translation of Favyn's *Theater of Honour* to Henry Montague, Viscount Mandeville, probably written in the early spring of 1623, shows the printer already occupied with thoughts of death: "Accept it, Noble Lord", he writes, "as I make no doubt but you will: And all my best abilities, while this poore old body of mine hath an houre to breath, is Your Honors in all dutie". On the 28th of March 1623 Jaggard made his will, and probably in October 1623 he died (Welch, *loc. cit.*, Wilson, *loc. cit.*) at the age of about fifty-five years.

Jaggard's will was proved on the 17th of November 1623, and is preserved (as are those of his wife and son Isaac) at Somerset House. His wife, Jane Jaggard, was named the executrix and his very good friends, Thomas Pavier and John Evans, the overseers. To each of his four children, Isaac, Thomas, Joan the wife of Richard Yardsley, yeoman,

and Alice, who later married Francis Bowles, a skinner, he bequeathed £150. (To get the approximate present-day values multiply the sums by ten.) To the Stationers' Company, his "very good freinds and brothers", he left a piece of silver plate which was probably melted down during the Civil War. To the poor he gave £20 and to his apprentice, Abraham Woodfall, he gave the last year of his term provided he served out the other years "well and truly as he ought to doe". The residue of his estate he directed should go to his widow. No mention, strange to say, is made of any member of the large family of John Jaggard. John had died before the 9th of September 1623, leaving a moderate estate, but one much inferior to that of his brother (Guild Hall Record Office : Orphans' Recognizances, II, fol. 89 ; Letter Book, II, fol. 17a).

William Jaggard's will shows him to have been a man of substantial means. The amount which he bequeathed his wife must have been considerable, for she was able in her will to make large bequests. At her death, which occurred between the 21st of October and the 22nd of November 1625, the dates of the making and proving of her will, she was able to bestow £40 on the poor, £20 upon Puritan ministers, and £20 on her maid, and to leave to her grandson, Richard Yardsley, evidently by this time an orphan, £40 for his rearing and apprenticeship, £5 to a niece, Lettice Whitefield, and the lease of the Leg Alley tenement which in good years would yield over £32 she left to her son Thomas (for whose

education she also liberally provided), requiring him, however, to pay a yearly annuity of £8 to his sister Alice Bowles. To Isaac Jaggard and Alice Bowles she bequeathed the residue of the estate which included the printing business.

After the death of her husband, Jane Jaggard took nominal charge of the press,¹ but Isaac, who on the 4th of November 1623 had been appointed Printer to the City in succession to his father (Welch, *loc. cit.*), managed the actual printing. Under him the press produced in 1624 Bishop George Carleton's *Astrologomania, or the Madnesse of Astrologers*, which was printed for William Turner of Oxford. As a part of the work had evidently been finished during the lifetime of his father, Isaac permitted William Jaggard's name to stand on the title-page. This book, along with Sir James Parret's *Invitation to Prayer*, which he printed for Robert Bird, and Dering's *Godly private Prayers for Householders*, which Isaac himself published, constitute the only known and extant productions of the press for the year following William Jaggard's death. The small total less than 50 edition-sheets may reflect a temporary shortage of capital caused by the legacies.

In 1625, however, Isaac Jaggard began to conduct the business on a larger scale and the total of his productions reached almost 160 edition-sheets. He published, however, but one book, Dering's

¹ Her name appears in the subsidy lists 1623-4 and 1624-5 (PRO E 179-147/535, E 179-147/50).

Short Catechisme. For John Bellamy he printed Thomas Beard's savagely anti-Catholic treatise *The Antichrist, the Pope of Rome* and for Matthew Lownes the first volume of the second edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron* under the title of *The Model of Wit*. Something, however, prevented the publication of the second volume. Probably it was the revocation of the licence of the book by the Archbishop of Canterbury (SR III, 667), an act which is not dated but which, to judge by the facts which we now possess, probably occurred immediately after the publication of the first volume of the second edition. On the other hand, the death of Lownes in September or October 1625, may have been the cause. The difficulties over this book may have been the cause of a debt which Matthew Lownes owed Jane Jaggard at the time she made her will.

In the spring of this year also, Isaac, who had now reached the age of thirty, married Dorothy Weaver, daughter of the stationer Edmund (or Edward) Weaver. The licence issued by the Bishop of London on the 4th of May 1625 directed that the marriage should take place at St. Faith's, the parish church of the bride (*Harleian Soc. Publ.*, 1887, xxvi, 153). Isaac's marriage united two friendly families; Edmund Weaver had been a customer of William Jaggard (Chapter XI) and was named by Jane Jaggard one of the executors of her will.

Upon the death of his mother, Isaac took full control of the business. On the 16th of January 1626 two apprentices were transferred to him by the

order of the Court of Assistants, Abraham Woodfall, who had been bound to his father, and George Sparks, who had been bound to his deceased uncle, John Jaggard (Apprentices' Register). He printed, however, but two books in 1626, another edition of the *Secrets* of Albertus Magnus, his own publication, and Henry Cockeram's *English Dictionarie* which was published by his father-in-law, Edmund Weaver.¹

In 1627, however, the press issued another edition of Dering's *Short Catechisme* and of Wilson's *Commentary upon Romans*, both published by Isaac Jaggard, the twelfth impression of Sir Thomas Overbury's *Wife* for Robert Swain, and a single sheet broadside, *Our three great Deliverances*, for Michael Sparke. The press also, evidently under the direction of Dorothy Jaggard, produced for Isaac Jaggard and Michael Spark an edition of Bishop Launcelot Andrewes' *Seven Sermons on the wonderfull Combate betweene Christ and Sathan*, the copyright of which had been derived through Roberts from Charlwood. The comparative productiveness of the press during 1627 is all the more surprising when we find that between the 5th of February and the 23rd of March of that year Isaac Jaggard died.

After the death of her husband Dorothy Jaggard, who was named executrix in Isaac's will, transferred

¹ In the second subsidy of 1625-6 Isaac Jaggard paid a tax of £3 (Guild Hall Library MS. 1503/2). This sum was the usual, but also the smallest amount, assessed in the precinct

Office, PRO : E 331/York/16). This living was a good one and, if the Leg Alley tenement yielded a reasonable return, Thomas Jaggard was probably a prosperous clergyman. He exhibited strong Puritan proclivities, however, and in the summer of 1643 a Royalist clergyman, John Rogers, petitioned the Marquis of Newcastle, the Commander of the King's forces in the North, that he be instituted in Kirkby Overblow in Jaggard's stead. Rogers describes Thomas Jaggard as "being very ill affected to his Majestie and a great Agent and cherisher of the enemy and Promotor of this unnatural warr". According to Rogers, Jaggard had already out of fear of punishment fled from his cure "these many months" and had associated himself with the enemy (*Yorkshire Archaeological Soc.*, Record Series, 1920, LXI, 156-7). Thomas Jaggard, in fact, had probably returned to London by December 1641. Dr. William Brough, a High Churchman, asked in that month permission to surrender his living, the vicarage of St. Michael's, Cornhill, to a certain Mr. Jaggard, B.D. probably Thomas, although we have no record of his having attained to that degree but the negotiations fell through.¹

On the 5th of January 1647, however, Thomas Jaggard, probably with the aid of his father's

¹ A. H. Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London* (Oxford, 1914-22, 5 v.), III. 184. On the 6th of January 1645 the Westminster Assembly of Divines approved "Mr. Jaggard's reasons for removal" (*Minutes*, ed A. F. Mitchell and J. Struthers, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 176), an action also which probably refers to the printer's son.

friends, Richard Cotes and Miles Flesher, who were vestrymen of the parish, was elected minister of the church of his parents and grandparents, St. Botolph without Aldersgate. Jaggard was no doubt glad to receive this appointment, which enabled him to occupy a post of honour among his old friends and neighbours, and, when we consider how troubled were the times, his affairs evidently went smoothly enough until he encountered a rather serious disaster. He seems to have been a man of independent thought and it was an ominous foreboding that, even upon his election to his pastorate, it was necessary for a committee to be appointed by the parish to settle "the controversy now in hand between Mr. Thomas Jaggard and the Elders". As the Civil War progressed, however, the successive leaders of the parliamentary party and the army by their extreme actions, especially the execution of the King, alienated from them many of the more moderate element who at the beginning of the war had been on the side of parliament. One of these was Thomas Jaggard. In 1650 he was arrested for "preaching and praying against the Parliament and in the interest of Charles Stuart". On the 1st of March of that year a committee was appointed by the Council of State to examine witnesses against him and on the 1st of April a warrant was issued for his arrest for treason and for the search of his property for "scandalous & seditious books and writings", especially for papers in his own handwriting. On the 9th of the month he was com-

mitted to Newgate Prison, there to be examined by the Recorder of London, and this examination, with other information and Jaggard's papers was on the 4th of June ordered to be referred to the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth. For more than a year Thomas languished in Newgate. On the 1st of September 1651 he petitioned for release, and on the 19th of the month he was permitted to "bayle himself in the sum of £400 with two good sureties of £200 each" on the "conditions that he (should) appear at ye Councell when summoned for to do so and that he (should) do nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth and the present government thereof".¹

During Thomas Jaggard's imprisonment his parish seems to have remained loyal to him. Various ministers were employed to officiate during his absence, and on 19th January 1652/3 it was voted that he should receive a salary of £100 per annum and an allowance of £16 for house rent and that all arrears due him should be paid. After the 14th of March 1653, however, no further references seem to appear in the Vestry Book of the church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate (Guild Hall Library MSS. 1453/1, 2) concerning him, and of the later life of the younger son of the printer of Shakespeare we have been able to discover nothing.

¹ PRO : SP 25/64 "Orders of the Council of State", pp 53, 146-7, 180-1, 185, 419 ; SP 25/22, pp. 12, 65 ; SP 25/24.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BOOKS OF WILLIAM JAGGARD

WE are only too apt to judge the literature of a bygone age by the examples which are still read and enjoyed in our own day. We are too prone to draw our ideas of Elizabethan life and thought from the outstanding geniuses of the age, such as Shakespeare and Bacon. It may be profitable, therefore, to survey the productions of a press which printed works of both of these authors, in order that we may consider them somewhat as they appeared to the Elizabethan and Jacobean bookbuyers.

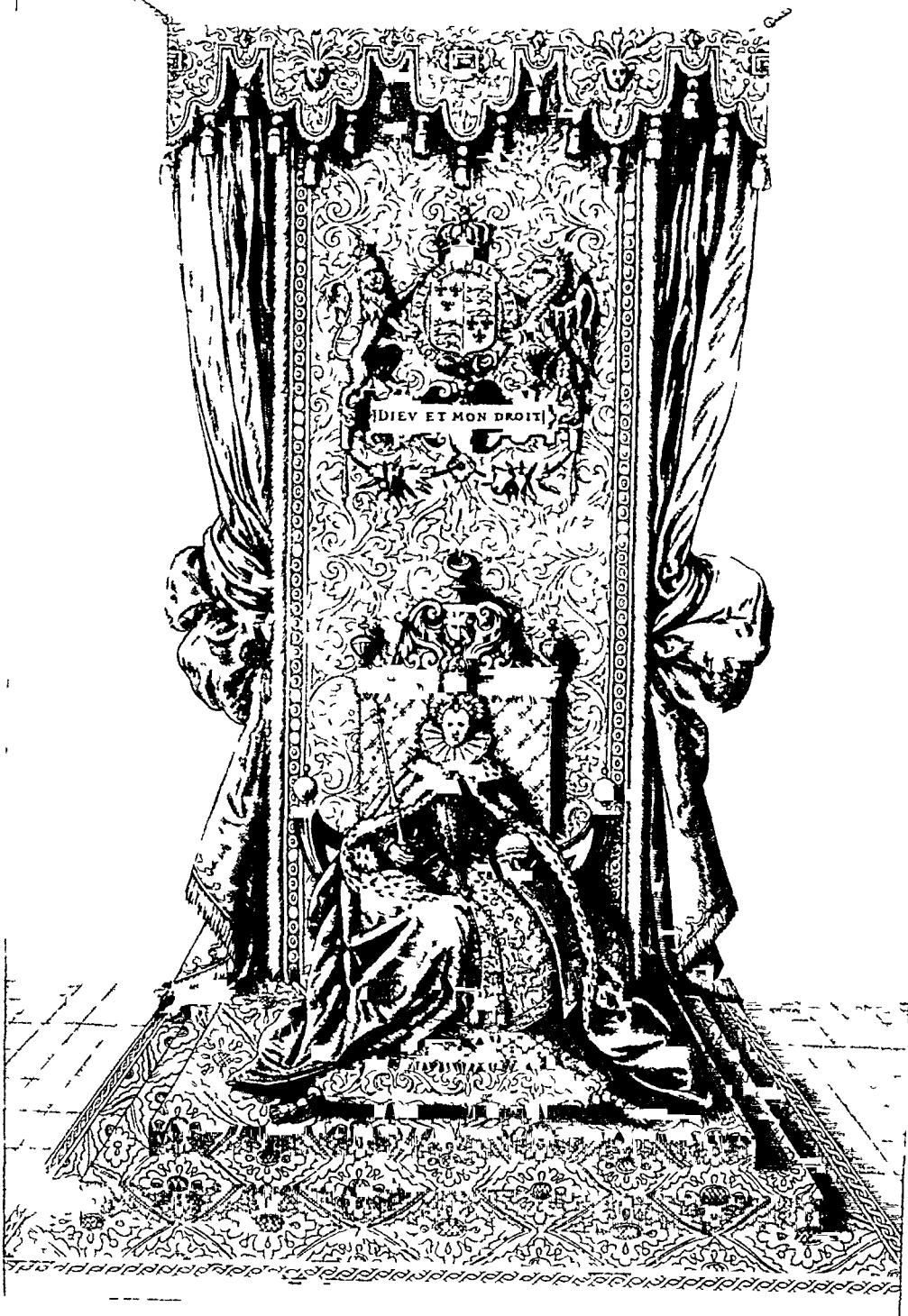
The books issued by William Jaggard are fairly typical of his time, except for the fact that, as he was a man of substantial means, he was able to produce a disproportionate number of large and expensive folio volumes. These were histories, books of heraldry, and other pretentious works, in place of which the ordinary printer would have an array of small religious books and other pamphlets. Classified by subject and rated on the basis of the number of sheets and the amount of labour required for production rather than by the number of titles and editions, the known and extant output of the press under William Jaggard may be analysed as follows :

History and Heraldry	-	-	33%
Religion	-	-	30%
Literature	-	-	18%
Science	-	-	11%
Other subjects	-	-	8%

This proportion is unusual ; Religion occupied a much more prominent place in the output of the average printer. In fact it dominated the book-market of Jaggard's time so completely that, as we have seen, five out of the eight pages of his *Catalogue of English Books* (1618) are devoted to books of Divinity and of the remaining three pages a half-page is given over to works dealing with Religious Controversy. Jaggard's fondness for large illustrated folios and his friendship for Milles and Vincent no doubt accounts largely for the expenditure of so large a proportion of his time and capital in the printing of books of heraldry, and his production of scientific books was no doubt stimulated by the same preferences and his friendship for Topsell and probably for Crooke.

Jaggard's books, if we may judge by their subjects and their probable prices, were intended chiefly for an upper middle class public. They have also a rather decided Puritan bias, a fact which may reflect the inclinations either of the printer who to judge by his friends and family was of that religious group or the interests of the London book-buyers, for it can hardly be doubted that the Puritans as a class were studious. In fact as they gradually grew to deny themselves other delights they were forced

REGIA MAESTAS



PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH,
from Milles' *NOBILITAS*

to cultivate the intellectual pleasures. That they often passed the dull Sabbath in reading is brought out by the two clergymen, Topsell and Bunny. Topsell, in the preface to his *Historie of foure-footed Beastes*, found it necessary to argue that although his book was not directly concerned with religion it had an indirect bearing on the subject, so cogent as to make it suitable for Sunday reading. "This is my endeavour and pains in this Booke", wrote Topsell, "that I might profit and delight the Reader, whereinto he may looke on the Holyest daies (not omitting prayer and the publicke service of God) and pass away the Sabbath in heavenly meditations upon earthly creatures". Bunny's *Head-Corner-Stone*, a summary and commentary on the Bible, needed no such apology. The author in the preface merely pointed out how the work might be divided so as to form material for study sufficient to occupy for two years those hours of the Sundays and holidays not devoted to church services.

Although Jaggard's books varied somewhat from those of the typical printer of London, from his establishment were issued works which covered almost all the subjects which could be found treated in the London book-market. He printed or published works of religion including sermons, commentaries on the Bible, prayer books, catechisms, books of religious instruction, and works of theology and religious controversy; of science including astronomy, mathematics, zoology, human anatomy,

medicine and surgery ; of history, biography, heraldry, geography, travel, political science, political economy, business administration, sociology, law (legal history), news, popular superstition, bibliography, lexicography ; literature including essays, short stories, ballads, a novel, poetry and plays ; and pieces of governmental and job printing. A brief survey of the output of Jaggard's press will give us an idea, at least, of the world of books into which the First Folio of Shakespeare was born.

CHAPTER XVII

GUIDE BOOKS TO HEAVEN

TOUCHING as they did the intimate life of the people, works of popular piety, such as manuals of private prayer, catechisms and books of religious instruction, were among the best selling items in the Elizabethan and Jacobean book-market. Short, easy to print, and running into large editions, they involved but a small outlay of capital and by their rapid sale insured a quick profit. Jaggard, however, did not specialize in this type of literature. He entered but one book of this group in the register of the Company, *The Anathomie of Sinne*, and derived from Roberts the rights of two others, Dering's *Catechisme* and *Godly Private Prayers*. Three more books of this kind he printed for other stationers. Nevertheless, he probably reaped a good profit from these popular manuals of devotion, for repeated editions were called for and it is possible that other editions now lost of these small pamphlets may have made the total larger.

The first and one of the most interesting books of this class was the *Anathomie of Sinne briefly Discovering the Branches thereof with a Short Method how to Detest and Avoid It*, published by Jaggard in 1603 and, under the title of *Two Guides to a Good*

Life, in 1604 and 1608. It was probably written by Joseph Hall (1574-1656), afterwards Bishop of Norwich, who later played an important part with John Milton as one of his opponents in the controversy over the episcopacy. The work is a treatise on the seven deadly sins and the seven cardinal virtues. In writing of marriage it is of interest to note that the author was able to devote three times as much space to "The duty of a wife" as he was to "The dutie of a Husband". Among the wife's duties are set down the following :

"As the Persians when their enemies came rushing upon them received them in silence : and contrariwise when they were set upon with silence, made head againste them with open mouth : even so a discreet woman must hold her peace when hir husband exclaims with choller : and contrariwise, if he utter not a worde, she must labour to comfort him with comfortable speeches."

"She must not discover her husbands imperfections."

"She must be no gadder abroad."

"She must be patient and wink at many things done be her husband."

In the year of the publication of this work, 1603, the Rev. Joseph Hall took unto himself a wife. Let us hope that she proved a paragon, devoting herself to the performance of the duties so thoughtfully set forth, and that the worthy future bishop whether or not he was the author of this little book

seldom made it necessary for his wife to wink at the things which he did.

Less interesting than the *Anathomie of Sinne* with its homely advice couched in terse vigorous English is *The Second Part of the Booke of Christian Exercise appertaining to Resolution, or, A Christian Directory Guiding all Men to their Salvation*, which Jaggard printed for Simon Waterson in 1610, 1615, and 1619. The author, represented only by his initials on the title-page, was Robert Parsons, the English Jesuite who with Campion had laboured in 1580 and 1581 in England as a missionary. The power of the book was immediately recognized by the ardent Calvinist, Robert Bunny, who prepared it for publication in England by "perusing" it and bringing its doctrinal teachings into harmony with those of the reformed faith, greatly to the disgust of the original author of the manual. With Bunny's alterations the book was well received by the Puritans and remained in circulation for many years. Richard Baxter, for example, when a boy of fourteen or fifteen was profoundly influenced by it and, despite Bunny's editing, English Catholics also probably bought it. Jaggard printed only the second part of the work added by Parsons in 1585. It is a series of rather disconnected essays: "How necessary it is for every man to enter into cogitation of his owne estate", "That there is a God", "Why man was created", "Proofs of Christianity", "Who is a true Christian" and "The despayre of God's mercy" are the themes treated.

Equally popular was *A Christal Glasse for Christian Women*, an idealized biography of Mistress Katharine Stubbes, written by her husband, Philipp Stubbes. First published in 1591, in fifty years it passed through at least sixteen editions, of which Jaggard printed two for Pavier and Wright in 1621 and 1623. The heroine, who is held up as an example to all Puritan young women, was married at the age of fifteen and died in December 1590 after four and a half years of married life. Though young she was extremely austere. "When her husband was abroad in London or elsewhere, there was not the dearest friend she had in the world that could get her abroad to dinner or supper or to Playes or Enterludes nor to any other pastimes or disports whatsoever : neither was she geven to pamper her body with delicate meats, wine or strong drink, but rather refrained altogether, saying that she would eat to live and not live to eat." So, too, was "her whole delight . . . to be conversant in the Scriptures . . . insomuch as you would seldom or never come into her house and have found her without a Bible or some other good booke in her hand. And when shee was not reading, shee would spend her time in conferring, talking and reasoning with her husband of the word of God and religion". Also, she possessed the power of prophecy and was able to foretell her own death. Like many other Puritans, she had a love for religious controversy : "If she chanced at any time to be in any place where either Papists or Atheists were and heard them talk of

religion, what countenance or credit so ever they seemed to be of she would not yeeld a jot but she would most mightily justifie the truth of God against their blasphemous untruths and convince them, yea and confound them ". Despite her argumentative abilities, however, she was not lacking in the gentler virtues : " She was never known to fall out with any of her neighbours " and was never jealous of her husband's friends.

Her death is described in great detail. After bidding her husband and friends farewell, assuring them that she saw " infinite millions of angels " waiting to carry her soul to heaven, she swooned and was thought by all to be dead. A quarter of an hour later, however, she revived and, if her husband-biographer may be relied upon, delivered a long and detailed confession of her faith supported by accurate citations of the Scriptures. Then follows a scene which might have been taken from the *Ars Moriendi* of the Middle Ages. Satan, after she had finished her confession of faith, appeared to her and made one last attempt to obtain her soul. Those about her bedside heard her disputation with him, from which he, beaten, retired, and she, addressing the angels whom she saw surrounding her, died.

A strange book, indeed, is this, yet one which must have done much to mould as well as to express Puritan ideals. And one may form a vivid picture of an extreme form of Puritanism a morbid and neurotic one by reading this little tract.

Another work with a pronounced Puritan bias was Edward Dering's *Short Catechisme for Household-ers*, a very clear exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Jaggard, who derived the copyright from Roberts, printed four editions of this work (1611, 1614, 1617 and 1620). The same author's *Godly Private Prayers for Christian Families*, like his sermons, are couched in a clear, vigorous English not unworthy to be compared with some of the best prose styles of the Elizabethan period. Although Roberts issued several editions of this work Jaggard printed it only once and then as part of the first fascicule of Dering's *Workes*, published by Blount in 1614.

Another book of family instruction, *The Way to True Happiness leading to the Gate of Knowledge*, a series of questions and answers upon the Bible, was printed by Jaggard in 1610 for his friend, Pavier.

CHAPTER XVIII

SERMONS WHICH SHAKESPEARE MAY HAVE HEARD

SERMONS were very desirable copy for Elizabethan and Jacobean printers. Usually they were short and easy to print ; in fact we have reason to believe that the preacher, as in the case of John Dove, sometimes compiled from the notes of his sermon an abbreviated version for publication. The sale of the discourse could be predicted no doubt to a fair degree of accuracy by the reception of the sermon by the audience. It is noteworthy, for this reason, that a large proportion of the sermons printed by Jaggard and his fellow-printers were delivered at Paul's Cross, the great open-air meeting-place by the cathedral, to an audience which attended voluntarily.

If a sermon so interested an audience that the town began to discuss it, a stationer might wait upon the clergyman who delivered it, and offer to publish it, either in its entirety or, probably much more frequently, in an abbreviated version. The preacher, we have every reason to believe, would usually be pleased to allow publication. The task of composition having already been performed for oral delivery, the only remaining labour would usually be mere abridgement by the deletion of the less

important passages. A dedication would be written, the licence of the ecclesiastical censors obtained, the title might be entered in the Hall Book of the Stationers' Company, and then the pamphlet would be printed. Every effort would be made no doubt to get the sermon on the bookstalls while attention was still centred on it and, if all went well, the edition would be exhausted in a few weeks. The preacher would be compensated by increased prestige, by the present which he might hope to obtain from the patron to whom he dedicated the pamphlet, and probably by a small payment from the stationer. Issued as small and easily destroyed pamphlets, it is quite evident that many of these printed sermons have disappeared. Sermons also may have formed a larger part of the output of Jaggard's establishment than the extant editions would give us reason to conclude.

Besides the current discourses, there were a few productions of earlier preachers for which there was a constant demand. One of the most popular of these was *A Sermon no lesse fruitfull then Famous Preached at Paules Crosse in 1388 and found out hid in a Wall*. First published anonymously about 1550, it ran through at least eleven editions before Jaggard, who had obtained the copyright from Roberts, printed an "eleventh" and a "twelfth" edition in 1617. John Fox, who reprinted the sermon in his *Acts and Monuments* (1563), ascribed the discourse to R. Wimbledon and after 1582 the different editions of the sermon bore his name as

author.¹ Wimbledon's popularity no doubt arose from the fact that he was considered a forerunner of the Reformation.

The sermon, based upon *Luke xvi: 2*, "Come give a reckoning of thy Bayliwicke", is of interest because it treats of the same theme as the morality play *Everyman*. This is forcibly brought out in the second part of the sermon :

There be two judgements: the first anon after the departing of the body and soule, which is the particular doome whereof Luke speaketh in his Gospel. The second doome shall be anon after the generall Resurrection, and that shall be universall, and of this speaketh S. Matthew. To the first shall every man be called as the world passeth. To the second shall we come all together in the twinkling of an eye. To the first men shall be called by three Somners or Serjaunts, the first is Sicknesse, the second Age, the third Death. The first warneth, the second threateneth, the third taketh. This is a kindly order but sometimes it falleth unkindly. For some die that never consider what is sicknesse nor age as children that be suddenly slain. And some, yea, the most part now adayes that die, depart before their pure and naturall age of death.

For the Company of Stationers Jaggard printed in 1607 the *Fruitfull Sermons Preached by the right Reverend Father and constant Martyr of Jesus Christ M. Hugh Latimer*. Both because of their evangelical nature and because of the martyrdom of their author under Mary, these sermons were very popular, especially, we have reason to believe, among the Puritans.

¹ Wimbledon's Christian name is variously given as Richard, Robert and Thomas. Thomas is almost certainly correct - see G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Mediaeval England* (1926, pp 360-61).

Another preacher of the previous generation was the learned, eloquent but impulsive and hot-headed Edward Dering. He ruined what promised to be a brilliant career when, while preaching in Court before the Queen, he publicly rebuked Elizabeth for tolerating laxness and immorality among the clergy. Jaggard in 1614 printed two of Dering's sermons in the first fascicule of his *Workes* published by Blount. One of these sermons, that "preached at the Tower of London the 11. of December 1569", is of considerable power. A brief extract from it a defence of the proposition that even the hardened sinner will admit that "the way of vertue is better" will serve as an example of Dering's style :

There was never so impure and dissolute an adulterer but hath saide sometime, the chaste body is best. There was never so blasphemous and vile a swearer but sometimes he hath trembled at God's majesty. There was never man so proud and ambitious but he sometime remembreth he is but dust and ashes. There was never such a Usurer nor covetous wretch but sometime hee thinketh his gold and silver shall canker and the rust of it shall be a witness against him.

It is, however, with the current sermons, some of which Shakespeare, sauntering up to Paul's Cross on Sunday afternoons and evenings, almost certainly heard, that Jaggard's press was concerned. One of these is the earliest surviving book published by Jaggard, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Cross, the 3. of November 1594, intreating of the second comming of Christ and the disclosing of Antichrist* by John Dove.

The attack upon the Pope as the Antichrist in the sermon was no doubt pleasing to the Puritan Londoners, but even more interest was probably aroused by Dove's attempt to demonstrate that the end of the world was at hand. After first assailing the philosophists and atheists who held "that the world (should) have no ende", Dove attempted to disprove the arguments of those who were optimistic enough to believe that this final catastrophe would not befall until about the year 4000 A.D. or some other time in the distant future. The evils of the time, he maintained, were so grievous that the end of the world could not be long delayed. In fact, so near was it that, in Dove's opinion, it might come before the death of the aged Queen (Sig. C 5 v).

These sentiments were not unusual at this time. In the previous year John Napier had demonstrated not only to his own satisfaction but to the satisfaction of numerous readers of his *Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John* that the downfall of the Antichrist might with reasonable certainty be fixed for the year 1639 and that the end of the world would soon follow that event. Dying in 1617, Napier did not discover the error in his calculations and the inhabitants of a world which exists contrary to his expectations are still able to honour him as the inventor of logarithms.

Another book of sermons which Jaggard printed and published, *The Householder, or Perfect Man* (1609), is composed of a group of three discourses preached by his friend and pastor, Edward Topsell

shortly before publication. The sermons are filled with no little learning and worldly wisdom. As anecdotes derived from common life are not very frequently included in the discourses of the period, it may be well to mention one with which Topsell illustrated the folly of niggardliness, especially in regard to the compensation of ministers :

A Reverent Byshop in our nation hath left recorded in writing this History ; that a certaine Gentleman offered to his Parson for his Tith-wooll, a fleece or two, whereas in truth his due was to pay more . the Parson . . . brought the Tyth-wool to the Church and shewed it to the Neighbors, desiring them to witness by the view of that Fleece whether he had justly tithed his wool or no : which all that saw witnessed that he had very falsely dealt therein, then the Parson refused to take it . whereat the Gentleman grewe furious, seeing himself so justly shamed before all the Neighbours, and in his rage swore or vowed that he would never give him one lock more though it cost him never so deare Thus matters rested and the Parson also forebare his farther vexation : but almighty God did not forget this false & furious Gentleman, for he sent such a consumption into his wealth and brought him in a short time to such proverty that he was content to take the Dole or Almes Amongest the poore people which were relieved at the Funerall of the saide Parson.

Another discourse, Thomas Pullein's *Jeremiah's Teares, or a Sermon Preached in York Minster upon Trinity Sunday 1604 when the Sicknes was begun in the Cittie*, which Jaggard printed for Knight in 1608, was delivered on an occasion of great fear and trouble. News reached York in July 1603 that Newcastle was being visited by the plague. Two months later the disease worked its way south until

it appeared in villages ten miles from York. With commendable promptitude the City Council prepared for danger. Amusements were forbidden. Cats and dogs were ordered to be kept at home or destroyed and any found "in the strats" were to be killed. Suspected cases of sickness were to be removed immediately from the city to a place a mile away where tents were erected to shelter them. Despite these measures the city was heavily visited. The plague was at its height from May to December 1604 and in all 3,152 persons died of the sickness (*Victoria County History: Yorkshire*, III, 454-5).

Great, then, must have been the terror that filled the hearts of the congregation which assembled on Trinity Sunday 1604 under the great vaulted arches of York Minster. But the clergyman who addressed them did not attempt to allay their fear. Slowly and relentlessly he unfolded with many elaborations a catalogue of the sins of York. The punishment which the city deserved, he assured them, was great, and this punishment, long delayed, was about to fall upon it: "Before, nothing was heard in this city but mylth and melody, musicke and dancing, but nothing was used but feasting and banquetting, quaffing and carousing: Come, where shall we drink the best wine? Where is the strongest Ale to be had? But now no speech but, where is the sicknes? What fresh houses bee visited? How many are dead? Loe, this is the change that the Lord hath made".

To comfort his auditors Pullein reminded them that although they deserved the worst, they were afflicted with the least of the three great punishments which the Lord might inflict, the disaster which David chose in preference to war or famine, and assured them that unfeigned repentance would turn the plague away. Strongly he exhorted the rich not to flee, but to stay and relieve their poorer neighbours. Even more earnestly he urged the magistrates not to forsake their duties. It is useless, he argued, adopting the same predestinarian view which later characterized Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*, for "If any of you depart, be sure the hand of the Lord can follow you whithersoever you go . . . If it be Gods will you shall be safe anywhere, and if it be not Gods will you shall be safe nowhere". The town's officials, it is gratifying to add, moved either by a sense of duty, by Pullein's arguments or by the fear of the ruinous fines which were inflicted upon those deserting their posts, remained in the stricken city and conducted themselves in a most commendable fashion.

Finally, in 1615, Jaggard printed and published a series of three sermons, *The Blacke Devill, or The Apostate, together with The Wolfe worrying the Lambes and the Spirituall Navigator bound for the Holy Land* by Thomas Adams, "the prose Shakespeare", as Robert Southey termed him, "of the puritan theologians". Although he was still a young man at the time of the delivery of them, these three sermons show him already an eloquent preacher.

As we may see by the title, Adams was much concerned with the devil, whose activities he describes in great detail : “ As he walks through the streets there he throwes a false balance into a Trades-mans shoppe. He steppes into a drinking house and kindles a quarrell. He shoulders to the barre and pops in a forged evidence, a counterfit seale. He dares enter the schooles, and commence schismes and contentions : nay, climb up into the pulpit, and broach sects and divisions ”. Nevertheless, in contemplating the state both present and future of “ the Sadduces & Atheists ” Adams is evidently pleased with the rôle which he believes the Adversary will play. “ The Devill ”, he concludes grimly, “ hath a speciall Medicine for Atheysme ”. The very plan of *The Blacke Devill*, an allegory “ wherein we . . . (metaphorically) compare Man to a Fort and the Devil to a Captaine ”, is an interesting forerunner of John Bunyan’s *Holy War*.

When castigating the social wrongs of England Adams’ fiery eloquence takes on a strangely modern note :

Oh the shrill cry of our Land for this sinne . . . The Father is dead, that kept good hospitality in the Country : and the Gallant his sonne must live in London where if he lack the least superfluity that his proud heart desireth : (and how can he but want in the infinite pride of that City ?) He commits all to a hard Stewart : who must wring the last droppe of blood from the Tenants hearts ; before the Land-Lord must want the least cuppe to his drunkennes, the least toy to his wardrobe. . . . Hear this ye oppressors ! Be mercifull : you will one day be glad of mercy. The

yellings of the poore in the Country are as loud as your
rorings in the City The Cups you drink are full of those
teaies that drop from affamished eyes, though you per-
ceive it not You laugh when they lament . you feast
when they fast you devoure them that do you service.

CHAPTER XIX

THEOLOGY

THEOLOGY in Jaggard's time formed an extremely important unit in the book-market. Religious questions, even very subtle ones, interested the intelligent Englishman much more than they do to-day. Politics and religion were very intimately bound together and, despite the efforts of the government to keep attention away from controverted points, the air was electric with conflict. This brought to the subject an interest which it is difficult for us of to-day to comprehend. In many Puritan homes, like that of Katherine Stubbes, books of religion and theology served the same purpose as the novel and the newspaper do in a modern home. And the Puritan fondness for religious discussion no doubt stimulated the reading of even rather profound theological treatises. Besides this, the clerical profession at the time was numerous and furnished a large part of the serious readers. Clergymen who needed theological books for professional purposes no doubt formed a large part of the purchasers of this class of literature and aided in the swelling of the production of it. Of this type of literature Jaggard was a fairly heavy printer and publisher.

Commentaries on the Bible formed the most

important class of theological works issued by Jaggard. How important were these now forgotten works may be seen by the fact that Jaggard printed and published six editions of these expositions, none of them small and the largest, Attersoll's *Numbers*, occupies about one and a half times as many sheets as does Shakespeare's First Folio. The Biblical commentaries printed by Jaggard, in fact, equal almost fifteen per cent of his extant output, or nearly as much as his total production of literary books.

The authors of these bulky volumes, needless to say, were very prolix. Attersoll, for example, when commenting upon the shortest book of the Bible, the Epistle to Philemon, a book of but twenty-five verses, was able to produce an exposition so lengthy that it required a volume of over five hundred folio pages to contain it. The method of writing a commentary on a part of the Bible in the seventeenth century was often no doubt that employed by Wilson in his *Commentarie upon Romanes*. He first preached a long series of sermons upon the book and then abridged and arranged these discourses into a commentary.

Four of the volumes of Biblical exposition printed by Jaggard were by the Puritan minister, William Attersoll. His comments on the twentieth to the twenty-fifth chapter of Numbers were first published in his *Pathway to Canaan* (1609) and the *Continuation, The Historie of Balak* (1610). Later both of these books were embodied in *A Commen-*

tarie upon the Fourth Booke of Moses called Numbers (1618). Of Attersoll's *Philemon* (1612) we have already spoken. More popular than the expositions of Attersoll was the *Commentarie upon Romanes* by Jaggard's other clerical friend, Thomas Wilson. Of this an edition was printed by William in 1614 and another by his son, Isaac, in 1627. A somewhat different work is Edward Bunny's *Of the Head-Corner-Stone by the Builders still over much omitted*. This paraphrase of the Bible story with comment was intended for lay readers.

Dull as these books no doubt are, some passages of interest may be found, and as Biblical commentaries are often well-indexed, one desiring a complete picture of the attitude of Shakespeare's contemporaries on any subject may find it worth his while to consult them. Let witchcraft serve as an example : Attersoll (*Balak*, pp. 496-501) believed that all witches should be put to death because they had dealings with the Devil. But, on the other hand, he points out, they have no power, as the ignorant multitude imagine, to destroy men's goods, lame their cattle, torment their bodies or take away their lives. There is no need to fear them as so many do who fear to deny them anything. A witch, in fact, is utterly impotent. As she is the Devil's servant and not his master, he cannot be sent to do her bidding and even if he could he is more eager to do evil than is she, and therefore would not do more harm because of her bidding. The devil himself, much less a witch, may do no evil

unless God permits it. The disasters, therefore, Attersoll argues, which men attribute to witches are divine punishments for sin, and instead of fretting against witches they should seek by sincere repentance to remove the misfortunes which are laid upon them.

Besides the six Biblical commentaries which he himself published, Jaggard printed in 1607, for Waterson and Bankworth, Arthur Dent's commentary on Revelations, *The Ruine of Rome*. Like many contemporary English expositions of Revelations, this work is a bitter attack upon Catholicism. Dent, though he rejected the argument of Napier that the Antichrist would be overcome in 1639, it may be added, held it probable that the end of the world would befall in his generation.

Another aid to Biblical and theological study was Thomas Wilson's *Christian Dictionarie*, a lexicon of the important words of the Bible and theology and their various significations. The book, published by Jaggard first in 1612 and then in a revised version in 1616 and 1622, filled a long-felt need so well that for over a century and a half it remained a standard work ; an eighth edition was published in 1678.

Religious controversy in the time of Shakespeare and Jaggard raged hotly and the struggle called forth many books. The conflict was a three-sided one ; the Puritans, the conservative elements in the established church and Catholics were all arrayed against one another. At first sight it would seem unnecessary for the Protestants of England to keep

up their constant propaganda. Catholics, under pain of heavy fines, were ordered to attend the services of the established Church, and Catholic priests, under pain of death, were forbidden to say Mass. Persuasion, however, was also used. Ministers were bidden to labour earnestly for the conversion of "popish recusants" and every inducement was held out to the English Catholics to conform. But the fight was not always an offensive one. Despite the severe penalties, Catholic missionaries were constantly coming into England and secretly labouring there. Books, also, "Nautie, seedicious & Papisticall", as the Star Chamber termed them, were constantly being smuggled from Douai, Rheims and Rouen and secretly circulated about the country. These pamphlets were answered by Protestant controversialists who had of course the advantage of being in command of the press. The necessity of answering the Catholic propaganda became greater immediately after the ascension of James to the throne. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the counter-reformation was making steady progress on the continent of Europe and the Protestants of England feared lest their country should be isolated in a Catholic world. In such an event they desired that a religiously united nation should face its potential enemies. Attacks upon Catholicism, provided no disrespect was shown to the sovereign or to the nobility of a friendly foreign power, or to any highly placed English Catholic, usually met with the approval of the government

during the reign of Elizabeth and James. Most works of this sort made no attempt to convert Catholics. Frequently they were mere attempts to revive the memories of the Marian persecutions, to instil terror of the Inquisition by fearful stories of its activities and to keep the Protestant population in a state of excitement. How successful was the work of these propagandists Charles and Laud learned to their sorrow. Again, attempts were made to encourage the Protestant element to hope for ultimate victory because of divine assistance. Dent, for example, in *The Ruine of Rome* quoted scriptural proofs for his assertion that in a short time the kings of Europe would combine with the Turk to destroy the papacy.

Others merely attempted to defend the doctrinal system of the Church of England against its opponents. Thomas Bell, a converted Jesuit, wrote a number of these apologies, two of which were published by Jaggard. In *The Tryall of the New Religion* (1608) Bell attempted to show that the doctrines and ceremonies of the Anglican Church were essentially identical with those of the primitive Church and that in those respects in which the Roman Church differed from her, the divergences were innovations. The Roman Church, then, Bell argued, taught a new religion while the Church of England remained true to that of the apostles. In *The Jesuites Antepast, containing a Reply against a pretended aunswere to the Downefall of Poperie* (1608), Bell engaged in a controversy with Robert

Parsons, who had published a reply to one of Bell's most popular works. Bell not only had to answer Parson's arguments but to reply to his suggestions that the pension which Elizabeth had given him was the cause of his leaving the Roman Church. Bell countered Parson's twitting by pointing out to him that he was by the law of England a traitor and worthy of death.

Besides these attacks upon Catholicism, there were a number of works addressed to Catholics urging them to conform to the Church of England. It is probable, however, that these were usually read by Protestants, though it is possible that they were sometimes bought by ministers and others for distribution among recusants just as modern religious tracts are used for propagandistic purposes. Of these Jaggard printed one edition, *A Christian Love-letter* (1606) by John Swynnerton. The author, according to his own statement, was engaged to marry a gentlewoman, Katherine K , but shortly before their intended marriage she became a Catholic. Thereupon he broke off the engagement and wrote her a letter assuring her that he would never marry her, but at the same time urging her to return to her former faith. This letter, a medley of theological arguments derived largely from a book which the author happened to buy, written in a gentle and persuasive, if somewhat superior and self-righteous tone, Swynnerton published for the good of all those of the Roman religion "to labour their conversion to the true faith".

Controversies with the Puritans were less frequent during Jaggard's time, though their number was growing both in size and importance. Of books concerned with these, Jaggard printed but one, James Wats' *Controversie debated about the Reverend Gesture of Kneeling in the Act of Receiving the Holy Communion* (for Burre, 1621), a very moderate defence of a Church ceremony attacked by the Puritans.

Of two doctrinal works published by Jaggard we need say little. Both were written by Puritan divines and friends of the printer. The first, a treatise by William Attersoll on the sacraments, was first issued in 1606 as *The Badges of Christianity* and later in 1614 as *The New Covenant*; the second, Thomas Wilson's *Saints by Calling* (1620), is a moderately Calvinistic discussion of the doctrine of election.

CHAPTER XX

SCIENTIFIC BOOKS

SCIENCE in Shakespeare's day was rapidly making the transition from the mediaeval to the modern, and although it did not command the widespread popular interest which it does to-day, nevertheless it received considerable attention. Jagard, as we have seen, devoted about eleven per cent of the extant output of his press to the production of scientific books and was probably interested in this class of literature. In fact while he was still a bookseller in Fleet Street he published a work on mathematics and astronomy, Thomas Hill's *The Schoole of Skil* (1599).

This work by a miscellaneous writer of no great merit is of interest, among other reasons, for the evidence which it affords of how the belief in a terracentric universe persisted over fifty years after the announcement of Copernicus's discovery. Discoursing upon the theory "That the earth employeth the middle place in the worlde [*i.e.* the universe] and is the centre of the whole", Hill writes : "Aristarchus Samius, which was 261 yeares before the birth of Christ, tooke the earth from the middle of the world and placed it in a peculiar Orbe, included with Marses and Venus Sphere and to be drawne about by peculiar motions, about the Sunne

which he fayned to stand in the middle of the worlde unmoveable, after the manner of the fixed stars. The like argument doth that learned Copernicus apply to his demonstrations. But overpowering such reasons least by the newnesse of the arguments they may offend or trouble young students in the Art, we therefore (by true knowledge of the wise) doe attribute the middle seat of the world to the earth, appoynt it to the centre of the whole ” (pp. 42-3). Hill then proceeds to expose the fallacy (as he conceived it) of the theory that the earth moved about the sun.

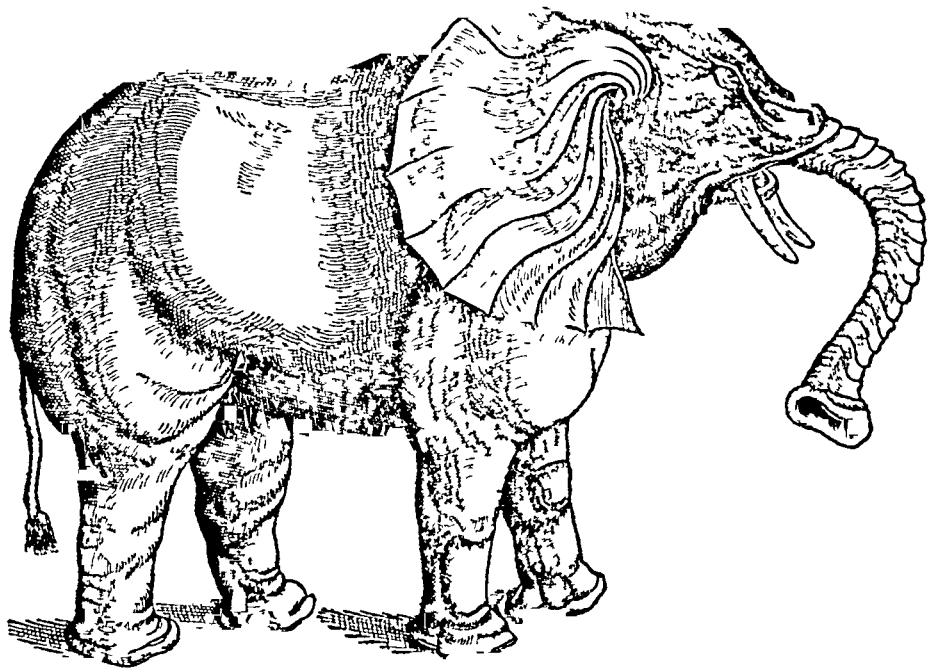
Hill had been a hack writer for the booksellers who tried his hand at various subjects from arithmetic to physiognomy and from the keeping of bees to the interpretation of dreams. Edward Topsell, the author of two large and splendidly illustrated books of natural history, *The Historie of foure-footed Beastes* (1607) and the *Historie of Serpents* (1608), on the other hand, was a man of profound and extensive learning, and his works are among the most interesting books printed by Jaggard. These works are based upon the natural histories of Conrad Gesner, but Topsell also added details from “many other good writers” and omitted information which, in his opinion, could be utilized for magical purposes. His work “describing the true and lively figure of every beast with a discourse on their severall Names, Conditions, Kindes, Vertues (both naturall and medicinall), Countries of their breed, their love and hate to Mankinde, and the

wonderfull worke of God in their Creation, Preservation and Destruction ", was intended not only to help while away the tedious London Sabbath but also, so prospective purchasers were assured, was " Necessary to all Divines and Students because the story of every beast is amplified with Narrations out of Scriptures, Fathers, Phylosophers, Physitians and Poets : wherein are declared divers Hyeroglyphicks, Emblems, Epigrams and other good Histories ".

Throughout the book may be seen at work two cross purposes. Topsell assures us that he has sought for scientific accuracy, but this he endeavoured to obtain not by direct observation of the phenomena described, but by maintaining as a criterion of proof that each statement accepted as a fact should be vouched for by two authors. On the other hand, the more strange and unbelievable was a statement which was repeated by two or more authorities the more readily, it would seem, did Topsell seize upon it, for these marvellous things, he evidently considered, most fully displayed the power of God. Even when dealing with the most common animals, Topsell often makes assertions which any inhabitant of London who cared to make rudimentary experiments could refute. " The urine of the mouse ", he says, for example, " is of such strong force that if it shal but touch any part of a mans body it will eat to the very bones ". When he is dealing with less known animals his authorities lead him into even more astounding assertions. Of the

elephant, for instance, he states on the testimony of Pliny : “ They have also a kinde of Religion, for they worshippe, reverence and observe the course of the Sunne, Moone and Starres ; for when the Moone shineth, they goe to the Waters wherein she is apparant, and when the Sunne ariseth, they salute and reverence her face : and it is observed in *Aethiopia* that when the moone is chaunged until her prime and appearance, these Beastes by a secret motion of nature, take boughes from of the trees they feed upon and first of all lift them up to heaven, and then looke uppon the Moone which they doe many times together ; as it were in supplication to her ”.

Topsell’s arrangement of his material is alphabetical by species beginning with the Ape and ending with the Zibeth or civet cat. Often, however, species will include strange members ; “ The Seahorse called in Greeke Hippotomos ” is included among the horses. In discussing a given species Topsell usually proceeds in the following manner : He gives first a derivation of the name, often a fanciful one, the form of the name in different languages, a description of the animal, its habits, and the medicines which may be derived from it. The Bull may serve as an example of Topsell’s method. “ A Bull ”, runs his definition, “ is the husband of a Cow and ring leader of the heard (for which cause *Homer* compareth *Agamemnon* the great Emperour of the Grecian Armye to a *Bull*) . . . The Haebrewes call him *Tor* or *Taur* ; which the Chaldes cal *Abir* for a strong Oxe, so the Arabians

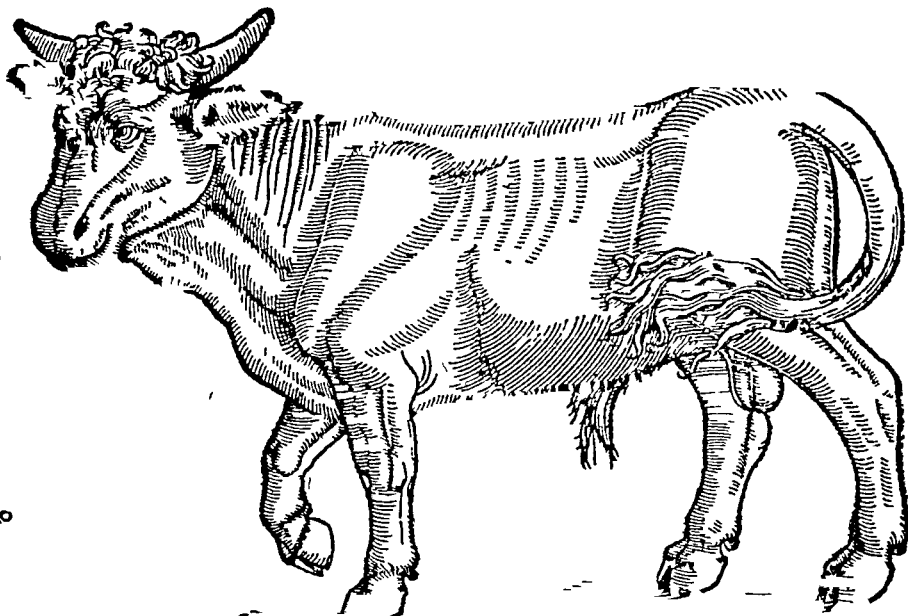


Of the Elephant

191

Of the Bull.

61



10

24

or that affordeth or yeeldeth so much plentiful matter in history for the ample discovery of the nature thereof ”.

Strange to say, although “ Dragons be natural enemies to men ”, Topsell was able to garner from sundry writers stories of the “ extra ordinary love both to men, women and children ” which has distinguished some notable members of this species. “ Aleua, a Thessalonian Neat Heard, which did Keepe Oxen in Ossa hard by the fountain Hemonius ”, was loved of a dragon who admired his golden hair. He often visited him, “ never returning empty but bringing some gift or other such as his nature and kind could lay hold on ”. Likewise Pindus, the son of Macedo, King of Emathia, had as a close friend a dragon who, when the prince was killed by his evil brothers, avenged his death. Again, an Arcadian, who as a boy had played with a young dragon, was rescued many years later from thieves by his old playfellow. Likewise the life of Nero was saved from villains hired by Messalina to kill him by the timely interference of a dragon. Besides this, it is of interest to note that dragons, if Topsell’s account may be relied upon, have strange powers of detecting hidden sin and are great lovers of virtue and chastity in men and women.

It would be unjust to Topsell, however, to infer that his two books of natural history are a collection of fables. The pictures and descriptions are usually approximately accurate and the works themselves are most fascinating, and may be read with pleasure.

Jaggard's editions are not rare and where these are not available Topsell's words may be read in Elizabeth Cotes' reprint of 1658 with the original woodcuts or, failing this, extracts may be read in John Ashton's *Curious Creatures in Zoology* (New York, n.d.) and in Muriel St. Clare Byrne's *The Elizabethan Zoo* (London, 1926).

Medicine and surgery during the time of Shakespeare and Jaggard were making considerable progress. In anatomy, Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, although not published until 1628, was demonstrated in a lecture at the College of Physicians twelve years before. Recently discovered drugs were slowly displacing the superstitious remedies which we have seen described in Topsell's *Histories*. Of surgery, Jaggard a Barber Surgeon's son printed three editions, but of medicine he printed but one book, and that for the Stationers' Company.

Sir Thomas Elyott's *Castel of Helth* was a very popular book though its medical information was no doubt antiquated. Since its publication in the lost edition of 1534 at least fifteen editions had appeared before Jaggard's edition of 1610. Written by a layman, the book almost certainly made its appeal to the non-professional reader. Elyott clearly expounds the classical theory of medicine. The universe is made up of four elements : Earth (cold and dry), Water (cold and moist), Air (hot and moist), and Fire (hot and dry). As these elements predominated in a man his nature or "complexion"

is respectively Melancholic, Phlegmatic, Sanguine or Choleric. Sometimes, however, one of these elements sometimes even more than one becomes either excessive or deficient and a pathological condition develops which may be confined to one organ or may be general throughout the body. The reader, therefore, is taught to recognize the symptoms of such a lack of balance of humours and is instructed in the diet and other remedies which will prevent and correct such a condition. Persons inclined to be choleric, for instance, are cautioned to avoid "Garlike, Onions, Leekes, Mustard, Pepper, Honey, Wines much drunken and Sweete Meates", and, dealing with local ailments, Elyott warns the reader that "Drunkennesse, Lechery, All Pulse, Sweete wines and thicke wines, Very fat Meates, Garlike, Onions, Coleworts and Reading after supper immediately" are "things hurtfull to the eyes".

The physiological values of different foods are carefully considered. "Butter", Elyott writes, "is . . . nourishing and profitable in them which have humours superfluous, in the breast or lungs and lacketh riping and cleansing of them, especially if it bee eaten with sugar or hony. If it be wel salted, it heateth and cleanseth the more". The diet, moreover, should be moderate, one's "complexion" dictating the amount as well as the choice of food. "Mirth with gladnesse" is a much desired aid to digestion and "the meates and drinckes which do delight him that eateth, are to bee preferred before that which is better but more unsavorie".

Jaggard's sole medical book, then, was but a small, popular reprint which he himself did not publish. His three books of anatomy and surgery, on the other hand, were illustrated first editions of works of considerable importance to the profession. Jaggard evidently remained interested in books of this subject for a short time only; between 1615 and 1617 he published three surgical works but issued no more after that date. Perhaps he found that the high cost of procuring good anatomical cuts made these books expensive to produce and at the same time the limited number of prospective purchasers made them difficult to market.

Of the books of surgery printed and published by Jaggard the most important was Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia, A Description of the Body of Man* (1615), an imposing folio volume elaborately illustrated with carefully made anatomical cuts which no doubt was very expensive to produce. In fact the printer was compelled to omit three of the sixteen books into which the author's manuscript was divided in order to keep down the bulk and cost of the book.

Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* is a compilation based upon the works of two anatomists most in favour in his time, Gaspar Bahuin and Andreas Laurentius. The book is dedicated in the usual flattering terms to the Barber Surgeons, who in return rewarded the author with a gift of £5 (Young, *Annals of the Barber Surgeons*, p. 332). In the "Preface to the Surgeons" Crooke recalled the

is respectively Melancholic, Phlegmatic, Sanguine or Choleric. Sometimes, however, one of these elements sometimes even more than one becomes either excessive or deficient and a pathological condition develops which may be confined to one organ or may be general throughout the body. The reader, therefore, is taught to recognize the symptoms of such a lack of balance of humours and is instructed in the diet and other remedies which will prevent and correct such a condition. Persons inclined to be choleric, for instance, are cautioned to avoid "Garlike, Onions, Leekes, Mustard, Pepper, Honey, Wines much drunken and Sweete Meates", and, dealing with local ailments, Elyott warns the reader that "Drunkenesse, Lechery, All Pulse, Sweete wines and thicke wines, Very fat Meates, Garlike, Onions, Coleworts and Reading after supper immediately" are "things hurtfull to the eyes".

The physiological values of different foods are carefully considered. "Butter", Elyott writes, "is . . . nourishing and profitable in them which have humours superfluous, in the breast or lungs and lacketh riping and cleansing of them, especially if it bee eaten with sugar or hony. If it be wel salted, it heateth and cleanseth the more". The diet, moreover, should be moderate, one's "complexion" dictating the amount as well as the choice of food. "Mirth with gladnesse" is a much desired aid to digestion and "the meates and drinckes which do delight him that eateth, are to bee preferred before that which is better but more unsavorie".

Jaggard's sole medical book, then, was but a small, popular reprint which he himself did not publish. His three books of anatomy and surgery, on the other hand, were illustrated first editions of works of considerable importance to the profession. Jaggard evidently remained interested in books of this subject for a short time only ; between 1615 and 1617 he published three surgical works but issued no more after that date. Perhaps he found that the high cost of procuring good anatomical cuts made these books expensive to produce and at the same time the limited number of prospective purchasers made them difficult to market.

Of the books of surgery printed and published by Jaggard the most important was Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia, A Description of the Body of Man* (1615), an imposing folio volume elaborately illustrated with carefully made anatomical cuts which no doubt was very expensive to produce. In fact the printer was compelled to omit three of the sixteen books into which the author's manuscript was divided in order to keep down the bulk and cost of the book.

Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* is a compilation based upon the works of two anatomists most in favour in his time, Gaspar Bahuin and Andreas Laurentius. The book is dedicated in the usual flattering terms to the Barber Surgeons, who in return rewarded the author with a gift of £5 (Young, *Annals of the Barber Surgeons*, p. 332). In the "Preface to the Surgeons" Crooke recalled the

occasions upon which he had lectured on anatomy before the Barber Surgeons Company and urged that physician and surgeon carefully refrain from trespassing upon each other's functions. Crooke also, it is interesting to note, found it necessary to defend himself against charges of obscenity which had been hurled at him by the prudes of his day because the anatomical figures in his book represented the complete human body. Like the other scientific works of the time, the *Mikrokosmographia* attempts to reconcile Galen, Aristotle, and the other ancient writers with the newer scientific discoveries. Crooke felt obliged, for example, to refute the arguments based upon supposed cases mentioned by classical and later writers in favour of the theory that a woman may change her sex (pp. 249-50). Yet if the book includes many ancient errors, it contains many proofs that the observations of the surgeons of the sixteenth century who, sometimes in spite of considerable opposition, had been carrying on their dissections, were on the whole accurate and the deductions which they made from their observations were often surprisingly sound. Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* was well received by the profession. Jaggard published the work in three issues (1615, 1616 and 1617) which appear to differ only in the title-pages and the prefatory matter, and a new edition was called for in 1631.

Alexander Read's *Somatographia Anthropine, or A Description of the Body of Man* (1616), as we have seen before (Chapter XI), is but an epitome of



TIT L PAGE

OF THE SECOND EDITION OF CROOK'S MIKROKOSMOGRAPHIA (1631),
engraved by Droeshout. Depicted are surgical operations and an anatomy lecture.
The lecturer is supposed to be Crooke.

Crooke's work, reproducing the plates of the larger work and intended to be sold to surgeons who desired a portable manual to carry to lectures or to those who could not afford so expensive a book as the *Mikrokosmographia*. It also was evidently well received though it was not until eighteen years later, in 1634, that a second edition was published.

The Method of Curing Wounds made by Gun-shot, written by Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), was done into English by Walter Hammond and published by William Jaggard with Isaac's name on the title-page in 1617. The author, a surgeon to five Kings of France, had worked his way up from the station of a humble barber-surgeon by means of the knowledge gained by his practice without the aid of much theoretical education. His skill in military surgery, which enabled him to perform successfully very delicate operations, was obtained by experience in several wars. As might be expected from the background of the author, Paré's work discusses questions of a very practical nature. It had been thought, for example, that gunshot wounds were poisoned by the bullet and that for this reason they must be cauterized by scalding with hot oil. Once, however, Paré had an inadequate supply of oil and was compelled to dress some of the soldiers' wounds without scalding them. The next morning he arose expecting to find these soldiers dead; instead, he found them recovering better than those whose wounds had been cauterized. From this incident he concluded that gunshot wounds did not differ

from those caused by other weapons and therefore resolved not to burn any more wounds. The book, too, is full of other shrewd observations. If the soldier is wounded by an arrow and there is difficulty in extracting it, Paré advises that the patient be made to assume the position in which he was wounded. The book, written by a man who loved to ease pain and who genuinely sympathized with the sufferer, had considerable influence among English surgeons.

CHAPTER XXI .

BOOKS OF POPULAR SUPERSTITION

POPULAR superstitions are generalizations arrived at in the same manner as are the laws of science but deduced from insufficient or imperfect data. For this reason what passes as science in one generation is often recognized as superstition in the next. To take a familiar example, phrenology, though now discredited, was a little more than half a century ago widely accepted by the medical profession. Science in the days of Bacon and Galileo was in such a state of flux that it is not always easy to distinguish between the science and the popular superstition of the age.

Indeed, a widely circulated book of popular superstition published by William Jaggard passed under the name of the great mediaeval scientist Albertus Magnus, although, in fact, it was written not by him but by his pupil, Henricus de Saxonia. This work, published by Jaggard as *The Secrets of Albertus Magnus*, was issued by him in at least three editions (1595, 1599 and 1617) and, as the book was small and cheap, intended no doubt to be sold to the more ignorant classes, there may have been other editions of his which have disappeared. The work treats "of the vertues of hearbs, stones and certaine beasts, of the seven planets governing the

nativities of children and of the marvelous things of the world ”.

Although the book contains no directions for diabolic dealings and was intended as merely a work of pseudo-science, nevertheless there are some details in it which savour of illicit knowledge, such as instruction of “ how to cause strife and to provoke sorrow, feare, terrible phantasies and debates ”, and it is probably with this in mind that Jaggard takes care to print the preface in which the translator urges the reader to use the book only for his recreation as he was “ wont to use the booke of *Fortune* ”, and assures him that “ there is nothing herein promised but to further (his) delight ”. The book also gives the reader directions concerning the performance of many praiseworthy things. If one desires to make peace, for instance, it may be accomplished by the use of the sapphire, a stone which also “ makes the mind pure and devout towards God ”. Melancholy might be cured, foolishness and phantasies driven away and the possessor made pleasant by the use of stones which unfortunately could be obtained only from distant lands. Some recipes, however, could easily be followed. To become able to see in the dark, as well as in the light, we learn, it is only necessary to anoint one’s face with the blood of a bat. The objects of many of the directions seem rather foolish. A formula, for instance, is given for “ a perfume whereby every man shall seem to all that be in the house in the forme of Elephants or horses ”,

or instructions as to procedure “ if thou wilt make a mans head seeme an asse head ”. This “ marvelous thing ”, which brought such confusion to poor Nicholas Bottom the Weaver, may be performed by following these simple directions : “ Take up the covering of an asse and anoint the man on the head ”.

In the astrological portion of the book we find that “ every true act must be done in its planet, and the best is that [which] is done in the proper day of the planet and in his owne proper houre ”. The day and the hour proper to matrimony, strange to say, are not those of Venus but of Mars, and this excellent institution is somewhat ominously joined with “ warre, prison andemie ”.

Thomas Hill’s *Pleasant History, declaring the Whole Art of Phisiognomy*, published by Jaggard in 1613, treated of a subject which attracted considerable attention at the time. The book is illustrated by pictures of faces, but the same cut is often employed to illustrate quite diverse qualities. All the different parts of the body, too, we find, have a significance in determining the character of a person. The different types of eyebrows, for instance, serve as a ready index to a person’s hidden thoughts : “ The haire of the over-browes neere touching and in a manner joyned together, are noted to be the woorst condition of all others : in that the Browes like formed, doe argue a wicked person, full of mischiefe, ungracious workes and deeds, & geven to wicked Arts ”. But not only could a man’s character be told from seemingly insignificant bodily

peculiarities but his future could also be predicted from them : “ If a man have a Mole in a manner behind the necke : it doth demonstrate that he shall be beheaded, except God (through earnest Prayer) prevent the same ”.

Besides these two works of popular superstition, Jaggard printed one or two works exposing the fallacy of these delusions. Bishop George Carleton’s *Astrologomania, or The Madnesse of Astrologers*, published at Oxford by William Turner in 1624 with William Jaggard’s name as printer on the title-page although he died in 1623, was a reply, written about twenty years before publication, to Sir Christopher Heydon’s *Defence of Judiciall Astrologie* (1603). Carleton’s argument may be summed up thus : the frequent errors made by astrologers prove that they cannot forecast the future by the stars. When an astrologer does foretell coming events which he sometimes does with an exactness which exceeds the bounds which an astrologer can claim for his art he does so not from the evidence of the stars but by the aid of the Devil with whom he conspires to catch the unwary.

A revised edition of *A Defensative against the Poyson of supposed Prophetes* by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, was printed and published by William Jaggard in 1620. The book is an attack upon all forms of divination, especially upon astrology which the author states has created great disorder in the commonwealth, especially among simple and unlearned people. These he endeavours to

disprove by showing that only an occasional prophecy is fulfilled. Most of his illustrations are taken from the Bible and the classics but sometimes he cites a superstition from contemporary life : “ The astrologers forbid us when the Moone is in a fixed signe, to put on a new Garment. Why so ? because it is like it will be too long in wearing. A small fault about this Towne, where Garments sildome last till they be payde for. But their meaning is, that the garment shall continue long, not in respect to any strength of goodness in the stuffe, but in the durance or disease of him that hath neither leysure nor libertie to wear it. Belike one Velvet Gowne which served first a Noble man of this realme and his Sonne after him for the space of many yeares was put on while the Moone was in such a lasting signe & yet I finde not that eyther of these Lords were in disgrace while the Gowne was in wearing ”.

If we are inclined to smile at the superstitions of the age of Elizabeth and James, let us not forget that we of the enlightened twentieth century have witnessed a great recrudescence of astrology. At the present time, if documents of almost unquestionable authenticity may be believed, there are business men and statesmen who make decisions which involve the happiness of thousands of people on the advice of practitioners of an art which was condemned as absurd not only by philosophers such as Bishop Carleton and the Earl of Northampton in the reign of Elizabeth but even by the theologians of the middle ages.

CHAPTER XXII

SOCIAL REFORM AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

THE social problems which faced the age of James and Elizabeth were acute and pressing. The suppression of the monasteries had deprived the poor of the charity to which they had long been accustomed to look for relief and had filled the land with new and rapacious landlords. The village commons were being enclosed and ground which once served for the pasturage of the cattle of the villagers was seized by the lord of the manor. Grazing, too, was fast supplanting agriculture and depriving many labourers of employment. Oppressed by these intolerable conditions, the villagers flocked to the towns, but here the guilds welcomed their new neighbours none too warmly, and a former tenant had little hope of gaining more than a scanty living as a labourer. The successive sovereigns looked at the matter with concern and attempted to alleviate matters, but their legislation usually had the effect only of making matters worse. Vainly they attempted to stay the growth of London by forbidding the erection of new houses in the metropolis. Instead of encouraging manufactures which would enable dispossessed tenants to follow new occupations, they burdened infant industries with onerous taxa-

tion. Land laws, to be sure, were framed by the sovereigns for the relief of the poor and obediently passed by parliaments composed of the landlords against whom they were directed. But the landlord had little fear of laws which as the Justice of the Peace he himself enforced. Poverty in turn bred crime, and in this activity England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a world-wide notoriety.

Writers of books published by Jaggard and his contemporaries recognized the seriousness of the conditions which they faced, but their viewpoint was affected by a religious bias and by an inability to grasp the complexity of the problem. These shortcomings are exemplified by the unknown author of *Greevous Grones for the Poore : Done by a Well-Willer, who wisheth that the poore of England might be so provided for, as none should need go a-begging within this Realme*, printed by Jaggard for Michael Sparke in 1621. The author describes in considerable detail the condition of the poor in his day : “ Great is the misery that the Carkasses of the poore sustaine, as extreme hunger, pinching cold, pitifull nakednesse, great disdaine, strange surfeits, greevous sores, deadly diseases, and painefull deaths : but greater and more lamentable is the dangerous distresse of their silly soules. For they are the slaves of *Sathan* in the *Galley of Idlenesse*, fastened to the seats of *Poverty*, with the *Chaine of Slothfulnesse*, where extreme *Cruelty*, with his Whip of *Necessity* (whose biting Cords are *Hunger* and

Cold) forceth them to haste the fearfull voyage unto the Dolefull *Haven of Hell*, by greedie rowing with the Oares of Injurious Wrongs as *Theft, Cozenage, Witchcraft* and such like : but I hope to see, that Serpent so encountered with that goodly *Ship*, called *The Good Government of England*". With such a rhetorical flourish the writer begins. He continues by describing how parishioners condone the knavery of thieves who steal away from home, and how they make "the Host of the Alehouse their constable, that diligent *Setter* for all disorder and Maister of mis-rule, their cheefe Officer to see good Order kepte". Unfortunately the writer has no programme except to exhort the officers to be more diligent in compelling the idle to work and to urge the wealthy to be more liberal in their almsgiving.

The publisher of the pamphlet, Michael Sparke, in his dedication of the work to the "Right Worshipful Company of the Virginian and Sommer-Iland Plantations", pointed out that a more feasible method of relief was becoming available to the poor of England. The Virginia Company, in Sparke's opinion, was already finding one solution to the problem of dealing with "mean and decayed persons by transporting them to a Land where they have Corne which they sowed not, Vines which they planted not, and plenty which some of them deserved not".

A more detailed examination of the social evils of the time is *This World's Folly, or A Warning*

Peece discharged against the Wickednesse thereof by I. H. (? Joseph Hall), printed by Jaggard for Nicholas Bourne in 1615. This writer also allows his rhetoric to run away with him and, too, seems unable to appreciate the nature of the ills which confronted England. He fulminates against the new fashions which break down the distinctions between "Lady and Chamber maid, Gentleman and Mechanicke". Like Hamlet, I. H. complains that women "do so sophisticate their beauties that one (though Linceus-sighted) can hardly judge whether they possess their owne faces or no : and which is more lamentable every snowy-headed Matron . . . must have her boxe of odoriferous *pomatum* and glittering Stybium wherewithall to parget, white-lime and complexionate her rumpled cheekes".

More interesting is this author's attack upon the theatre : "More have recourse", he cries, "to Playing houses than to Praying houses, where they set open their eares & eies to suck up variety and abominations, bewitching their minds with extravagant thoughts, & benumbing their soules with insensibilities, whereby sin becomes customarie to them as, That to sin, with them is deemed no sinne at all . . . I will not particularize those. . . . Fortune-fatted fooles, and Times Ideots, whose garbe is the Tooth-ache of witte, the Plague-sore of Judgement, the Common-sewer of Obscaenities, and the very Traine-powder that dischargeth roaring *Meg* (not *Mol*) of all scurrile villanies upon the Cities face ; who are faine to produce blinde Impudence to

personate himself upon their stage behung with chaynes of Garlicke as an Antidote against their owne infectious breaths lest if they should kill their Oyster-crying audience *Vos quoque* (Or *tu quoque*) and you also, who with *Scylla*-barking *Stentor*-throated bellowings, flash choaking squibbes of absurd vanities into the nostrils of your spectators ; barbarously diverting *Nature*, and defacing Gods own image by metamorphising humane shape (*Greenes Baboone*) into bestiall nature ”.

Thus did our well-meaning reformer denounce an institution which later times adjudge one of the chief glories of his age, while he left unscathed some of the abuses which were most deadly to it. But perhaps some of the well-meaning reformers of the present day will fare no better than I. H. in the eyes of posterity.

Economic theory did not fascinate the age of Shakespeare as it did the age of Swift. On this subject, nevertheless, Jaggard printed one book and several pamphlets. The book, Sir Thomas Culpeper's masterly *Tract against usurie, Presented to the high Court of Parliament*, was printed for Walter Burre in 1621. Mediaeval discussions of usury were usually concerned with the lawfulness of taking interest. The Church in the middle ages, following the maxim of Aristotle that, inasmuch as gold did not breed and multiply, it was unjust that the lender should receive more than he loaned, condemned the taking of interest and both civil and canon law forbade it. This prohibition, however,

was circumvented to some extent by lending the sum for a brief period without interest but under a contract which bound the borrower to pay a penalty of a certain amount for the time that the debt was overdue (it being expected, of course, that the borrower would incur the penalty) or by disguising the transaction under the form of a partnership. The taking of interest under the disguise of a legal fiction thus being permitted in fact was finally made legal by an act of parliament in 1545. Interest up to ten per cent was allowed. Moralists still continued to condemn it and Shakespeare, so it would seem, sided with the older school of political economists in regard to this question.

Culpeper's treatment of the question, however, is notable in its avoidance of the profitless discussion of the morality of the practice. Instead, he systematically discusses the problem from the economic point of view. His thesis is that ten per cent is too high a rate of interest and that if the rate were reduced to six per cent everyone, from the King to the humblest labourer including even the usurer himself would benefit. His argument had a good effect, and in 1624 parliament in an Act which in its preamble recited reasons similar to those advanced by Culpeper, limited the rate of interest to eight per cent.

A less sound political economist was Jaggard's friend Thomas Milles. A conservative, he was opposed to the Company of Merchant Adventurers who were monopolizing foreign trade and advancing

evidence that this subject linked as it was to religion was one upon which radically divergent opinions were held.

The books printed by William Jaggard treat of two subjects current in seventeenth century political thought, the government of Ireland and the Divine right of Kings. Of books on the former subject Jaggard printed two, both of them written by men who, we have every reason to believe, were sincere well-wishers of Ireland but who did not comprehend either the extent or complexity of the problem which confronted them.

For Thomas Adams he printed in 1610 a book which had poor success in the London book-market, Barnaby Rich's *A New Description of Ireland*. The author, a self-educated soldier, from whose *Farewell to the militarie Profession* Shakespeare is thought to have borrowed the plot of *Twelfth Night*, had lived in Ireland for forty-seven years and had learned to love both the land and its people. "I thinke", he states in reply to those who accuse him of prejudice, "there is as neere a highway to go to Heaven from out of Ireland, as there is from any part of England, or else myselfe would never have stayed so long in the Countrey". Only because he loves the people, he maintains, does he point out their shortcomings. But to Rich all departures from English standards were shortcomings. That the Irish, for instance, should spend their time and gifts upon "Poets and Rythmers which do nothing but sit and compose lies, in whose writings they do

more relie than they do in the holy Scriptures", Rich considered most reprehensible and his dislike for these bards is manifest in a description of an Irish coshering: "There is amongst the Irish", he writes, "a kinde of feasting or banquetting which they call *Coshering*, & this is the maner of it; Good company both of men and women being drawne together a feasting, to entertain the time betweene meales, they have their *Rythmers* and their *Harpers*, the one to sing, and the other to play: the songes that they use to sing are usually in commendation of Theft, of Murder, of Rebellion, of Treason, and the most of them of lying fixions of their owne collections, invented but of the purpose to stirre up their hearts to imitate the example of their Ancestors, making repitition how many Cowes they had stolen, how many murders they had committed, how many times they had rebeld against their Prince and what spoiles and outrages they had done against the English". Again, Rich, while he commended the Irish for their hospitality, inveighed against their lack of sanitation and their drunkenness, and with their politics and religion, of course, he was completely at variance. Rich hoped for an Ireland which would be completely Anglicized. Only when this had been accomplished, he was persuaded, could the land have peace and prosperity.

The views of Sir John Davies, the author of *A Discoverie of the True Causes why Ireland was never subdued untill the beginning of his Majesties happie Raigne*, which Jaggard printed for his brother, John

Jaggard, in 1612/3, were much the same as those of Rich. Davies however, had had the advantage of occupying a higher position in the government. As Solicitor-General and later as Attorney-General of Ireland he did much to reduce robbery and murder in the land, but, on the other hand, he had aroused considerable opposition by attempting to enforce church attendance. Soon after his book was published, on the 18th of May 1613, he was elected Speaker of the Irish Parliament.

Davies' *Discoverie* is a scholarly work, a history of the attempts to subdue Ireland and an attempt to discover the reasons for their failure. From his analysis of the evidence Davies concludes that the previous expeditions were too feeble and that the government of Ireland had been too often corrupt and oppressive. Now that the island had been subdued, he urged that the inhabitants be conciliated by just and efficient rule, for, he says, "There is no Nation of people under the sunne that doth love equall and indifferent Justice better than the Irish or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof although it be against themselves; so that they may have the protection and benefit of the Law when uppon just cause they do desire it". If this is done, Davies prophesies, Ireland "will proove a Land of *Peace* and *Concorde*" and "it will heereafter be as fruitfull as the land of *Canaan*".

Another problem of political science treated in the books printed by William Jaggard was that of the Divine right of Kings. James I maintained, in

his *Premonition to all most mightie Monarchs* and elsewhere, that a legitimate king ruled his people as a viceroy of God. To disobey him, therefore unless he commanded the performance of something sinful or to rebel against him under any circumstance was to rise up against God who had appointed him and to whom alone he was responsible. God, also, according to the theory of James, designated His earthly representatives by means of heredity, so that there might be no doubt as to their authority. This theory was not a new one but James formulated it with greater exactness than had heretofore been attempted and supported it with precedents and precepts garnered from the Old and New Testaments sources from which opponents of the doctrine were later able to gather a number of quotations in support of their arguments condemning it. James built up this theory of a king's absolute, hereditary and inalienable right to the obedience of his subjects against the dogma of the Catholic Church which held that although kings ruled by divine right, the Church, acting as the representative of God on earth, might by excommunication release subjects from their obedience to a king who had ceased to be God's servant, and against a few Puritans who held that a king might be held responsible for his actions by his people.

This portion of his political theory James embodied in an oath of allegiance which, immediately after the conspiracy known as the Gunpowder Plot, he compelled all his subjects to take. To explain

and defend his oath of allegiance, James caused to be published a pamphlet entitled *God and the King*, which is supposed to have been written by Dr. Thomas Mockett. The circumstances of the publication have already been described in Chapter XI, and, as we have seen, Jaggard took part in the printing of the tract, although no copy from his press seems to have survived.

The book, framed as a dialogue, begins by expressing wonder than anyone should even wish to rebel against so benevolent a monarch as James. The reader is assured that there are some so depraved or misled, and for the better control of them an oath is enjoined. The oath is then quoted and explained. The subject in his oath is compelled to acknowledge that James is the lawful monarch of the realm and that the Pope has no power to depose him or to release his subjects from their obedience to him. This oath then Mockett defends by an argument in which he endeavours to prove that (1) The king "receiving his Authority only from God . . . hath no superior to punish or chastise him but God alone" and (2) "The bond of his subjects unto his sacred Majesty is inviolable and cannot be dissolved". That kings are appointed by God Mockett maintains by citing sundry passages and precedents from the Scriptures. Because David said "Against thee only have I sinned", Mockett (following St. Ambrose) concludes that a king is "not bound unto law because Kings are free from the bond of crimes and are not called unto punishment by any law,

being safe by the power of commaund ". " By mee (saith God himself) do Kings raigne and decree Justice ", continues Mockell somewhat misinterpreting Proverbs viii, 15, which assigns these words to Wisdom therefore their persons " are so divine and sacred, that they themselves are the Angels of God (2 Sam. xiv, 17) and sonnes of the most high (Psalm lxxxii, 6) ".

Arguments against the divine origin of kingly power are answered. Two instances in the Old Testament in which the people seem to have elected their king are considered : Of Saul it was said " that all the people went to Gilgal and there made him King before the Lord " and of David it is recorded that " the men of Judah anointed David King of Judah ". These instances Mockett dismisses by declaring that the people of Israel were merely acknowledging the sovereignty of a man already made king by God. Again, to the argument that the priestly office was superior to the kingly, Mockett replies by pointing out that David called the priest Zadock his servant and that David deposed Abiathar, the high priest. From these precedents Mockett argues that the Pope has no power to depose a king.

Subjects, Mockett continues, should cheerfully obey their king and pray for him however wicked he may be. Peter, he points out in support of this contention, directed the early Christians to honour the emperor Clodius, although he was " a profane Infidell, a cruell Tyrant ". In case subjects are

commanded by a wicked prince to do sinful acts (as were the early Christians) they have no rightful course but to endure persecution and martyrdom, still remaining loyal to the king. God will certainly punish an evil ruler, Mockett concludes, but his subjects should never attempt to usurp God's function by rebelling against their prince.

Similar in argument, but more honeyed in its flattery, was Richard Crakanthorpe's *Sermon at the Solemnizing of the happie Inauguration of our most gracious and religious Sovereigne, King James, wherein is manifestly proved that the Sovereignty of Kings is immediately from God and second to no authority on Earth whatsoever : Preached at Paules Crosse* which Jaggard printed for Thomas Adams in the same year as the delivery of the discourse, 1609. Crakanthorpe was a man of considerable learning and was able to back his arguments by numerous quotations of the church fathers and the acts of the councils, a circumstance which no doubt was pleasing to James.

The flattery of the sermon is perhaps more interesting than the argument. This began with the very text 2 Chronicles ix, 5-9 the queen of Sheba's eulogy of Solomon and though it is long, we must quote it as evidence of how fulsome Crakanthorpe's adulation could be :

“ And shee saide to the King : It was a true word which I heard in my owne Land of thy sayings and thy wisdom.

“ Howbert, I beleevd not their report, untill I

came, and mine eyes had seene it : & behold, the one half of thy great wisdom was not tolde mee, for thou exceedest the Fame that I heard.

“ Happy are thy men, and happy are thy servants, which stand before thee always and heare thy wisdom.

“ Blessed bee the Lord thy God, which loved thee, to set thee on his throne, as King, instead of the Lorde thy God : because thy God loveth Israel, to establish it for ever, therefore hath he made thee King over them to execute Judgement and Justice.

“ Then she gave the King six score Talents of Gold, and of sweet Odours exceeding much and precious stones ”.

As James's appetite for flattery was almost insatiable, Crakanthorpe no doubt rejoiced to find a text from which could be expounded the wisdom of the king and his divine right to the obedience of his subjects. Crakanthorpe, moreover, was evidently resolved to make the best of his text. After disclaiming any intention to draw a parallel between James and Solomon, “ of whom God hath saide that none should be like unto him ”, the preacher bursted forth : “ Yet with all loyall submission, let mee thus much say, and say much lesse then I conceive : Neither can the present age, nor al the Chronicles (I say) not of great Britaine onely but of all *Europe* present unto us a King, indued with such admirable gifts of Learning, Judgement, and Memory ; adorned with so many princely and Heroicall Vertues, Justice, Clemency and Wise-

dome ; especially that Heavenly wisdom which is the Fountain and Foundation of all the rest, with Religion, Piety, Zeale and constant Magnanimity, to professe, maintaine, and uphold the truth of God and of his Gospell ”.

Notwithstanding his disclaimer, Crakanthorpe constantly describes James as “ our Solomon ”. Among the many blessings for which he says that James is responsible, it may be noted, is the “ honorable expedition now happily intended for Vir-ginea ”. This act, Crakanthorpe prophesies, will be productive of “ great and manifold benefits which may rebound to this our so populous Nation, by planting an English Colony in a Territory as large and Spacious almost as is England ”.

A still more flowery and honeyed piece of flattery was George Marcelline’s *The Triumphs of King James : Published upon his Majesties advertisement to all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Christendome, and confirmed by the wonderfull Workes of God, declared in his life*, which Jaggard (who owned the copyright) printed for John Budge in 1610. The Letters of the King’s name, the parts of his body, his clothing and jewels are allegorized into flattering symbols and the events of his life are interpreted as divine miracles. In the opinion of Marcelline, the learned writings of James, if heeded, would cure all the evils of the world. “ As the hundred seventh King of Scotland ”, we read, James “ hath contributed more alone, by himself, to build the Temple of God and to reforme the service therein

then all the Kinges together have done . . . Briefly he is the lively Image of Great Hercules who never did or thought on any thing, but it was Great, and greatly profitable. All his actions, al his wordes and cogitations are nothing but Great ". In such a vein did Marcelline write a book of more than one hundred pages and the king was no doubt delighted with this adulation. But to a prince who dwelt in the king's household such words were dangerous. Had this prince received in his youth more sober descriptions of the greatness of his power he might not have stood on a scaffold before Whitehall on a January morning in 1649 with a hooded headsman before him.

CHAPTER XXIII

PUBLIC PRINTING

WILLIAM JAGGARD, as we have seen (Chapter X), was appointed in 1610 Printer to the City of London, an office of which he was extremely proud. The amount of printing which he produced for the City cannot be ascertained. It is quite certain, however, that there now remains but a small portion of these bills and posters which he printed.

One of the simplest and probably one of the earliest examples of Jaggard's public printing is a small broadside sheet, *The Oath of Every Free-man of the Citty of London*. The oath bound the freeman to be good and true to the King and obedient to the Mayor, to maintain the franchises and customs of the City and to pay all manner of charges and contributions. Likewise he promised to colour no foreign goods under his own name whereby the king and City might lose their customs, to permit no foreigner in the city to buy or sell with another foreigner, and to take as an apprentice none but the son of a freeman and then for a term of at least seven years.

Another piece of work, *An Acte for the Reformation of divers Abuses used in the Wardemote Inquest* (1617), a little manual for the aldermen of the City,

gives us considerable insight into the London of Shakespeare's day. Together with some "sufficient, able and discreet persons" selected for the purpose, the alderman in the Wardmote Inquest was to inquire into the peace, safety and health of his ward. For the direction of the alderman and his associates the manual summarizes the police and sanitary regulations of the City.

Certain honest men were to be chosen constables, and a raker was to be appointed "to make clean the streetes and lanes". The inhabitants were subjected to constant inspection. For this purpose the alderman was to make a roll of the names, dwelling places, professions and trades of the residents of his ward. The constables were to report the names of all newcomers to the alderman and all innkeepers were to report the names of lodgers who stayed at their establishments for more than two days, with full particulars concerning them. "Convenient provision" was to be made "for Hookes, Ladders and Buckets in meete places . . . for avoiding the peril of Fire". "No Huckster of Ale or beere" was to be licensed, "but honest persons of good name and fame." The said hucksters were to give surety that they would suffer "no lechery, dice playing or other unlawful games" to be exercised within their houses. They had to close their doors at nine o'clock in the winter and at ten in the summer. Wholesome victuals only were to be served and at prices not above those fixed by the mayor. Weights and measures were subject to frequent inspection.

At nightfall all were to hang lanterns at their doors and persons venturing out were to carry lights and were forbidden to wear masks. City dwellers were not permitted to “norish Hogges, Oxen, Kine, Duckes and other beastes to the greivance and disease of theyr neighbours” and the keeping of horses was regulated by strict sanitary regulations.

The ordinances contained in this little book, had they been enforced, would have made Elizabethan and Jacobean London a safe and orderly city. But the enforcement was lax and to this laxness the manual bears ample evidence. The compiler laments that it is well known that members of the Wardmote Inquest instead of suppressing vice and disorder have in the past occupied their time in feasting at the expense of their ward and in playing at dice, tables, cards and other unlawful games, “to the pernicious and evil example of all such as have any recourse unto the said Inquests”. To obtain money for their banqueting they also permitted transgressors of the laws and users of false weights to be discharged upon the paying of a bribe. The problems of the government of a seventeenth century city were, after all, curiously modern.

The Order of my Lord Maior, the Aldermen and the Sheriffs for their Meetings (1621) is largely devoted to ceremonial matters. Of more interest are *The Lawes of the Market* (1620) and a broadside, dated the 3rd of October 1622, regarding Blackwell-Hall, a common market place for clothiers who were accustomed to sell their cloth there to merchants

and drapers. Brokers and factors, however, had cunningly interposed themselves between the parties and, having brought the market under their control, had raised the prices. The clothiers of Reading and Worcester complained of this and the mayor and aldermen thereupon decreed that no broker should henceforth meddle in the market at Blackwell-Hall under penalty of Five Pounds for every piece of cloth thus sold ; one half of the fine to go to the poor children of Christ's Hospital, the other half to the informer.

Besides the official printing which he did for the City, Jaggard printed Visitation Articles for three dioceses, Norwich (1613 and 1618 ?), York (1610) and Lincoln (1613). These little pamphlets consisted of a series of questions to be asked of the churchwardens and side-men of a parish by the bishop during a visitation.

Questions first were asked concerning the Church and its equipment. Did the Church possess " the whole Bible of the largest volume lately set forth by his Maiesties authority . . . a font of stone set up in the auncient usual place, a convenient and decent communion table " ? Did it have a " Register Booke in Parchment for Christnings, Weddings and Burials " ?

Next inquiries were made concerning the minister. Did he " distinctly and reverently say Divine service upon the days appointed " ? Did he " wear a Surplice " and " use the signe of the Crosse in Baptisme " ? Had he " married any without a

Ring" ? Was he a " frequenter of Tavernes, Innes or Alehouses or any other place suspected of ill rule " or was he " a common Drunkard, a common Gamester, a player at Dice, a Swearer. . . or otherwise offensive to his function and ministry " ?

The questions concerning the parishioners show the wide authority which the ecclesiastical organization had in the community. Did any of the " Parishioners being sixteene yeares of age or upwards willfullie absent themselves from the Parish church upon Sondaies and Holidiaies at Morning and Evening Prayers " ? " Who," it was asked, " come late to church and depart from church before service be done " ? Who " doe not receive the holy communion . . . thrice everie yeare " ? Important questions were these, for the persons named in reply were subject to punishment.

The names of " Popish Recusants " living in the parish were demanded. Did they keep a school master ? Did they instruct their children in their religion ? And did " any of the said Popish Recusants . . . labour to seduce and withdraw others from the Religion now established " ? Were there any in the parish who retained or sold Popish or heretical books ? Had any " which heerto fore being Popish Recusants or Sectuaries . . . since reformed and come to Church ? Did the minister labour diligently to reclame the Popish Recusants in his parish from their errors " ?

Inquiry was made, too, concerning the " Phisitions, Surgeons and Mid-wives " of the parish, of

their experience, skill, deportment and as to the authority by which they practised. As the ecclesiastical authority was the principal agency for the registration of wills, the bishop also made inquiry as to whether there were any wills not yet proved or goods of the dead who had died intestate left unadministered, and "how many persons being possessed of Goods and Chattels" had recently died.

Finally the bishop inquired concerning the morals of the community whether there were in the parish any which were "commonly reputed to be common drunkards, blasphemers . . . common Swearers, common Slaunders of their Neighbours and Sowers of Discord, filthy and lascivious Talkers, Usurers, . . . or any which have used enchantments, sorceries, incantations or witchcrafts". These questions no doubt afforded the churchwardens, who cherished animosity against any neighbour whose reputation was not above reproach, opportunity to wreak their spite upon him.

CHAPTER XXIV

HISTORY AND HERALDRY

HISTORY had a great attraction for the contemporaries of Shakespeare and Jaggard. In education it occupied a very important place, since the thoughtful reading of history and biography was supposed to give to the student the wisdom which others had to acquire painfully by experience. Because of this readiness to reason from analogy, also, historical examples were constantly appealed to in sermons, theological works, speeches and in fact in every form of serious literature. Even the less serious types of literature such as the drama, the novel, the newsbook, the ballad, and the correspondence and conversation of the cultured classes were frequently interlarded with historical allusions. This attitude towards history made books treating the subject much esteemed in the London bookshops, and throughout his career Jaggard printed historical works. History and heraldry, as we have seen, occupied Jaggard's establishment more than did any other subject.

The types of historical works issued by Jaggard were varied. The simplest of all was a bare chronological list, William Rastell's *A Table Collected of the Yeares of Our Lord God and of the Yeares of the Kings of England, shewing how the Yeares concurre and*

agree together, of which Jaggard printed two editions for Adams (1607 and 1614).

Another type, the works of the classical historians, had a great vogue among the readers of the time. Of these Jaggard printed two books, Thucydides' *History* (1607) an account of the Peloponnesian War and of the Athenian expedition against Sicily and *The Historie of Justine* (1608), a compilation made from the writings, now lost, of the Roman historian Trogus Pompeius (flourished 20 B.C.), by the fifth century writer, Justinus. To this latter work, which is mainly concerned with Oriental and Greek history, is added "An Epitome of the Lives and manners of the Roman Emperors". Although a translation of the *History* by Arthur Golding had already been published, Jaggard issued a new version by G. Wilkins. Jaggard, however, soon lost interest in these classical historians. Despite the fact that the Elizabethan age was the golden age of translators, there was yet no great middle-class audience for them, such as we find in the eighteenth century, while the learned and the students no doubt preferred to read these works in the original. After 1609, therefore, with the publication of the second volume of Heywood's translation of Sallust which we shall discuss later in the chapter Jaggard ceased publishing the classical historians.

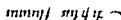
Of histories of the world Jaggard printed two, both by famous authors. The first of these, Anthony Munday's *A Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of Times from the Creation of the World to this Instant* (1611),

is a rather bare chronicle of events with some matters, especially those connected with London, treated at more length. At the end of the book is a rather quaint description of London. It may be of interest to glance at Munday's picture of the ward in which Jaggard lived : " Aldersgate Waide taking name likewise of Aldersgate, hath six Parish churches in it (viz.) saint Marie Staining, in Stayning lane, s. John Zachary, in Engaine or Maidenlane, s. Leonard in Fauster-lane, saint Olave in Silver Street, saint Anne by Aldersgate and saint Buttolph without Aldersgate. Halls of Companies, first, Goldsmiths Hall at Maydenlane end, they beeing an ancient and very worshipful society : for the first Maior that ever was in London was a brother of that society named Henry Fitz-Alwin, Fitz-Liefstane, who continued Maior more than 24 yeares together. The Cookes or Pastelers have a Hall also in Aldersgate street and they were admitted to be a company in the 22. year of Edward the fourth. This ward hath an alderman and his two Deputies, one within, and the other without, Common counsellors five, Constables 8, Scavengers 9, wardemote Enquest fourteene, and a Beedle. In London it is taxed at seven pounds to the fifteene and in the Exchequeratsixpounde,nineteeneshillings" (p.567).

In 1621 Jaggard printed for Walter Burre a much more famous universal history, Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*. The work was designed on a scale which does credit to a man whose plans and purposes were never petty. To be sure, as he him-

self realized, he overreached himself. "How unfit", he writes at the beginning of the preface to the work, "and how unworthy a choice I have made of mysele to undertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason, though exceeding weake, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open itselke to my younger yeares: and before any wound received either from Fortune or Time: I might well have doubted that the darkness of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Mee long before the performance. For beginning with the Creation I have proceeded with the History of the World and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse within our renowned Island of Great Brittain. I confesse that it had better soiled with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travailes; to have set together (as I could) the unjointed and scattered frame of our English affaires than the Universall: in whom had there bin no other defect (who am all defect) then the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life drawne on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soule-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured: with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I have tried by the fire of adversitie, the former enforcing, the latter persuading; have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and mysele the subject of every opinion wise or weake".

The treatment, too, was as elaborate as the scope of the book was vast. Sixty large folio pages, for instance, are occupied by the discussion of the creation of the world. Because of this, the book the largest which Jaggard printed though it fills 1,224 pages of text and about 100 pages of preliminary matter extends only to about the year 140 B.C. Raleigh attempted with considerable success to evaluate his sources and to consider cautiously each statement. Marvellous and unbelievable relations, such as appear by the thousands in the pages of Topsell, are seldom met with in Raleigh's *History*. Only, it would seem, in support of some point which all his generation held as certain, did he cite as proof fabulous stories. When endeavouring to answer the objections of the incredulous to the great age of the patriarchs, Raleigh, after he had considered some of the factors, such as luxury, which, in his opinion, had caused the physical degeneration of man, pointed out numerous cases of longevity among the Greeks and Romans, the case of an Indian "who had outlived three hundred yeares" when in 1570 he was "presented to Solyman, Generall of the Turkes Armie", and that of the old Countess of Desmond of Inchiquin in Munster, with whom he was personally acquainted, "who lived in the yeare 1589 and many yeares since, who was married in Edward the Fourth's time, and held her Joynture from all the Earles of Desmond since then". But such things appear but seldom in Raleigh's pages. Raleigh was anxious to ascer-



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ,

tain the historical truth largely in order that he might deduce from this a general moral truth. Although, as befitted a man who was writing a book while under sentence of death, he discreetly flattered the king and devoted a chapter in defence of the divine origin of royal power, he collected numerous examples of the disastrous ends of tyrants. "God", he concludes, "is the sorest & sharpest Schoolemaister, that can be devised for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them without controlement to turne it upside-downe at their pleasure".

The fondness which people of Jaggard's time had for illustrating their writings and conversation with historical allusions made popular great scrapbooks of miscellaneous information. Thomas Milles' *Treasure of Ancient and Modern Times* (printed by Jaggard in two stout folio volumes in 1613 and 1619) must have been a help to many a Jacobean minister who needed trimmings for his sermons. The book was compiled and translated from the "Learned Collections, Judicious Readings and Memorable observations" of Pedro Mexia, Francesco Sansovino, Anthonie du Verdier and others. The subjects which it covers were "Not onely Divine, Morall and Phylosophicall but also Poeticall, Martiall, Politicall, Historicall &c" in fact, there are few things which are not referred to in this remarkable and on the whole interesting work.

George Saltern's treatise *Of the Antient Lawes of Great Britaine* which Jaggard printed in 1605 for his

brother John and John Smethwicke, as it did not conflict with the privilege of Bonham and Wright for printing law books, was evidently considered an historical rather than a legal work. It is a rather rhetorical treatment of legal antiquities of no great value.

News is current history, and like the people of every other age the English of the time of Elizabeth and James had a great hunger for it. In 1622, while the sheets of the First Folio of Shakespeare lay neglected in Jaggard's shop, appeared the first English newspaper, the *Weekley Newes* (Shaaber, *Forerunners of the Newspaper*, p. 3). But before the advent of the newspaper, current topics were discussed in little pamphlets or newsbooks. These were usually copies of letters. In fact, the printing of letters as news dates back almost to the beginnings of typography. Soon after Columbus' return to Spain, for instance, his *Letters upon the Newly Discovered Islands* were translated and printed in various languages. The English newsbook, which sometimes with its headlines and illustrations shows that the tricks of the journalist were not unknown in Elizabethan times, was probably printed in as large an edition as the regulations of the Company permitted and placed on sale as soon as possible. If the publication appealed to the readers, the return upon the capital invested in its production would be almost immediate; if it did not, the publication resulted in a loss; for if the pamphlet did not sell at once, it did not sell at all.

Jaggard printed two newsbooks and one book of fiction disguised as news for even Jacobean readers had a failing for "yellow" journalism for sensational falsehood disguised as truth. These two newsbooks were printed for Edward White early in 1607 and were entitled: *A True Report of certaine wonderfull Overflowings of Waters, now lately in Summerset-shire, Norfolke and other Places of England: destroying many Thousands of Men, Women and children. Overthrowing and bearing downe whole Townes and Villages, and drowning infinite Numbers of Sheepe and other Cattle* and a later edition of the work with further details, *More Strange Newes of the late Overflowings of Waters*. Like most of the newsbooks of the period these two accounts are full of moralizing. The first sentence of the *True Report* strikes the keynote: "Albeit that these swelings up and overflowings of waters proceed from natural causes, yet are they very diseases and monstrous byrthes of Nature, sent into the world to terrifie it, and to put it in mind y^t the great God (who holdeth stormes in the prison of the Cloudes at his pleasure, and can enlarge them to breed disorder on the Earth when he growes angry) can as well now drowne all mankind as he did at first: But y^t by these gentle warnings, he would have us come unto him, and flye from the points of more deadly Arrowes of vengeance than utterly to perish".

How terrible were these "gentle warnings" may be seen by the description, in typical Jacobean journalistic style, of the plight of the inhabitants of

Norfolk when the alarm was given : “ The truth once knowne, it was no need to bid them make hast : to express how amazedly Men ran up and downe, betwixt sleepe and wake, asking what newes and receiving no other answer but what newes was strange. In a word, in this danger every man layed first hands [on what] he loved best, some made away with his Wife, some his Children, some careless both of Wife and Children hurried away his goods. He that had seen this troublesome nights worke would have thought upon the miserable night of Troy. Here waded one up to the middle loaded with wealth, when noting how the water increased, and calling to mind his helpless Children with a sigh as loath to part from what hee so deerely had loved hee throwes it downe, runs to Bedde, wakens his Wife, and from her sides snatches the sleeping Infants. Here comes a Husband with his wife on his backe and under either arme an Infant. The Sonne carries the Father, the Brother the Sister, the Daughter the Mother, whilst the unmercifull conqueror breakes down the Walles of the Houses, taking pittie neither of aged (*sic*) nor Sexe, findes some at playe, some a sleepe in Chayers, many in their beddes, that never dreamed of misfortune till the Water waked them ”.

An example of Jacobean “ yellow ” journalism is *A Jewes Prophecy, or, Newes from Rome* which Jaggard printed for Gosson in or shortly after 1606. This pamphlet, supposedly a translation of an Italian work by Signor Valesco, tells of many mar-

vellous events. The King of Hungary with many allies is reported to have raised an army to war upon the Turk who was assisting the Tartars in their fight against the Emperor of Muscovia. The Turk, according to the pamphlet, has encountered another enemy whose very existence has hitherto been unknown. Alexander the Great drove nine and a half tribes of Hebrews who "worshipped the Calf and Serpent of Gold" beyond the "Mountain Caspe" and no one had heard of them since. Recently, however, some Hollanders arrived in their country, taught them the manufacture and use of firearms and showed them how to escape from the country into which they had been driven. This Hebrew people, according to the story, were marching in two mighty armies to crush the Turk and recover the Promised Land. The book ends with "Caleb Shilock his prophesie for the year 1607". This not over sanguine gentleman prophesied that great calamities would occur in that year great floods, winds, insurrections of heretics and infidels against Christian princes, earthquakes and pestilences.

Biography was a form of history which had not advanced in the Elizabethan and Jacobean age to the degree of literary excellence which it reached in the eighteenth century, but at the same time there was some demand for it. Besides Philip Stubbes' religious biography of his wife, *A Christal Glass for Christian Women* (printed for Pavier), which we have already considered in Chapter XVII, Jaggard published two works of biography. One of these was

Heywood's translation of Sallust's *Two most worthy and notable Histories, the Conspiracy of Cataline undertaken against the Government of the Senate of Rome and The Warre which Iugurth for many years maintained against the same State*, which William Jaggard (who held the copyright) printed for his brother John. The example of Cataline, whose biography Sallust gives with almost Elizabethan^{*} moralizing, was frequently quoted both in the school, in the church and on the stage as an example of the ruin which a young man might bring upon himself by the misuse of his talents. "Cataline", we read in Heywood's translation of Sallust, "was descended of Honourable Parentage, a man of able body and no lesse adorned with Gentleman-like qualities but of an evil and froward disposition. From his youth addicted to civil dissentions, to Quarrelling, to Cheating and discorde: these were meere the humours of his youth. His body could well inure itselfe to undergo Want, Watchings and cold, more than humane. Bold of Spirit, Subtle, Waywarde, a deepe dissembler, greedy of another man's Thrift, Prodigall of his owne: Talkative enough, voide of wisdom, of an high minde, accompanied with desires unsatiable, incredible, too too ambitious." Thus characterized, Cataline and his crimes and plots served as an example to the Jacobean youth of the things to be avoided.

Jaggard and his friend Pavier published Jaggard's own *View of all the Lord Mayors of London* (1601), an illustrated series of brief sketches of Elizabethan

Lord Mayors of small literary merit which has already been described in Chapter VII.

Local history, genealogy and heraldry occupied an important place in the book market during the time of Jaggard. The work of the brilliant school of antiquarians of the sixteenth century which included such scholars as John Speed, John Stow, Raphael Holinshed and Robert Glover was continued in the next century by William Camden, John Selden and others. Social changes, too, were stimulating an interest in genealogy. The prosperity of the mercantile classes raised many of them to the ranks of the gentry. Shakespeare himself serves as an example of how a middle class man, upon attaining a moderate degree of wealth, desired the right to bear arms. After obtaining a grant of arms, the recipient would often wish no doubt to know something about the meaning of his newly acquired honour, and for this purpose would buy books upon heraldry. Again, especially after that always impecunious monarch, James I, had found in the sale of titles and public honours a partial remedy for his pressing needs, the older families also no doubt took a new interest in a subject which vindicated the antiquity of their titles. Besides these, a rather large number of persons such as heralds, aspirants to membership in the College of Arms, the Painters and Stainers who drew coats of arms and probably even the stonecutters who insculptured heraldic designs upon tombstones, needed books of heraldry for professional purposes.

For those who merely desired a superficial knowledge of heraldry, a handbook such as Gerard Legh's *Accedence of Armorie* which William Jaggard printed for his brother in 1612 would suffice. First published in 1562, Legh's manual had been a standard work for half a century when the last edition that of Jaggard was issued. In a condensed form it gives the meanings of the different armorial terms, the symbolism of the colours and figures, and the other essentials of the art of heraldry. Some of the arms which are cited, however, are strange ones indeed. Those of Hector, Judas Maccabeus and Julius Caesar, for example, are described at length.

Of less general interest was Robert Glover's Latin treatise, *Nobilitas politica vel civilis* published by Jaggard in 1608. It was edited by the author's nephew, Jaggard's friend Thomas Milles, who later included a translation of it, interspersed with some remarks of his own, in his *Catalogue of Honor*. In this work Glover traces the history of the orders of nobility among the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans and in the middle ages and discusses the titles of the nobility of Great Britain, the rites and ceremonies used in the creation of a peer, the ancient form for the coronation of the king, the composition of the College of Heralds and finally the history of the Order of the Garter.

Englishmen who were making a thorough study of heraldry would need to learn something concerning the foreign orders of knighthood. For them Jaggard published in 1623 a book which after three centuries still remains a standard treatment of its



HONOR

THE
CATALOGVE OF HONOR

OR
TREASURY OF IRVE NOBILITY PECVLAR AND
PROPER TO THE ISLE OF GREAT BRITAIN
that is to say

A Collection historicall of all the Iree Monarches
and well Kings of England as Scotland (nowe
vniited together) with the Princes of Wales
Dykes Marquisses and Eries their wiuies child
ren Alliances Families Descences & Achievements

of
HONOR

PAX

NOBILITAS

WHEREVNTO
is properly prefixed
A speciall Treatise of that kind of
NOBILITY w^{ch} Sovereign GRACE
and fauor and Contryes Customes
haue made meerly POLITICALL
and peculiarly CIVILL (neuer so
distinctly handled before).

Translated out of Latyne into English

LONDON.

Printed by WILLIAM IAGGARD

60 1610.

LIBERTAS

subject, *The Theater of Honour and Knighthood, Or, a Compendious Chronicle and Historie of the whole Christian World, Containing the Originall of all Monarchies, Kingdomes, and Estates, with their Emperours, Kings, Princes, and Gouvernours ; their Beginnings, Continuance, and Successions, to this present Time. The First Institution of Armes, Emblazons, Kings, Herald, and Pusuiuantes of Armes : With all the Ancient and Moderne Military Orders of Knighthood in euery kingdome. Of Duelloes or Single Combates, with their Originall, Lawes, and Obseruations. Likewise of Ioustes, Tourneyes, and Tournaments, and Orders belonging to them. Lastly of Funerall Pompe, for Emperours, Kings, Princes, and meaner Persons, with all the Rites and Ceremonies fitting for them*, a translation by an unknown writer of *Le Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie* (1620) of the Parisian lawyer, André Favyn.

For a book of this nature, Favyn's work is surprisingly interesting. Anecdotes from ancient writers are summoned to illustrate almost every point. Favyn states, for instance, that in ancient times ambassadors bore as a sign of their office the caduceus, because it was believed to give the bearer wisdom. "*Orus Apollo*", he continues, "writeth in his *Hieroglyphickes* that the Rod or Caduceus writhed with Serpents was the signale or noate of providence and wisdome : because, that among all creeping creatures of a foule and earthie substance there is not any more advised and subtle then the Serpent ; who to warrant and secure himselfe from

the Shepheards charme stoppeth his eares, the one with his taylor, and fixing the other firmly to the ground". But it is not to these anecdotes alone that the book owes its interest. Many of the sections are in themselves quite fascinating to a person of antiquarian tastes. The chapters which treat "Of Duelloes, Fights and Single Combats performed at the Sharpe, and to the utmost extremity of Life" give us a striking picture of the late mediaeval duel. Favyn begins by describing the other trials by ordeal, that of the hot ploughshares, of hot and cold water and of the cross. He then takes up the history of the judicial combat. Once even points of law, such as the method of dividing an estate, might be determined by the ordeal of battle and the result of a duel might be cited afterwards by lawyers as a legal precedent; but later the ordeal was used only between accuser and accused to determine the guilt of the latter, especially if proof of the crime were difficult to obtain. If the accused were innocent, it should be remembered, the appellant was guilty of the serious crime of perjury.

Favyn then proceeds to describe the correct manner in which a gage might be given in court, for by the use of an incorrect formula the accuser might be compelled to fight more than one person. When a judge allowed a case to be tried by the gage of battle, the ordeal was conducted according to an elaborate set of ceremonies prescribed by the letters patent of King Phillip IV in 1306. None of the spectators was permitted, under heavy penalties,

to distract the combatants by cry or sign, to be on horseback or to stand during the combat, nor to have arms or armour not even so much as a dagger. The appellant had to appear in the lists before noon and the defendant before four o'clock. Each took his place in the pavilion. At the bidding of the judge they came forth and were admonished by a priest as to the extreme gravity of the oaths which they were about to take. It were better, he insisted, for the guilty party even yet to confess his fault and to "trust to the mercy of the King then to endanger the wrath of God and the power of the infernal enemy". The Marshal then directed them to take a terrible oath in which each party swore to the justice of his cause and renounced paradise for the pains of hell if his cause were unjust. To enforce this oath they then met in the field, clasped each other's hands and, addressing each other, again swore to the justice of their cause. This finished, they returned to their pavilions, which were placed at opposite ends of the field. At the cry of the herald, the combatants came out of their pavilions and the marshal giving the signal by throwing down the glove they fought each other until one yielded and confessed his fault or until one was able to bring the other forth from the field dead or alive. If the vanquished survived the duel, the sovereign decided whether or not his life should be spared; if, on the other hand, he died in the lists, the prince decided whether or not his body were to be treated ignominiously.

The ordinance of Phillip IV concluded by exhorting subjects not to enter rashly into trial by combat for of all perils none was more greatly to be feared nor to be overborne by pride and confidence in their own strength, but nevertheless whosoever were unable to find justice by other means was admonished to "refer his cause to God" for in the trial by battle, the subject was assured, "God alone judges and awards the victory". Favyn evidently could not agree with this dictum of Phillip IV. He cites an instance of a man who by a mistake as to identity was accused of a crime and was killed in a judicial combat. "Behold", exclaims Favyn, "the miserable condition of Duellies and Combats, where the danger falleth upon the innocent as here is plainely proved to you, and therefore this manner of trial hath bin worthily prohibited because on which side soever this infernall chance falleth : it is always to the losse of the Body, and oftentimes of the Soule too of one or other of the parties".

Jaggard also published three books which formed the rough equivalent of the present-day *Peerage*, Thomas Milles's *Catalogue of Honor* (1610), Ralph Brooke's *Catalogue and Succession* (1619) and Augustine Vincent's *Discoverie of Errours in the first Edition of The Catalogue of Nobility, published by Raphe Brooke, Yorke Herald* (1622). Milles compiled his imposing folio book to a large extent from the manuscript collection of the notes of his uncle, Robert Glover. The first part, that dealing with

the genealogy of the kings, is a condensed chronicle of English history. In this section Milles relates many wonders. In the nineteenth year of the reign of Henry III, he informs us, "in those partes about Hereford and Worcester there appeared foure Suns in the sky besides the naturall body of the Sun itselfe, it was encircled with such largeness, as it seemed to compasse the whole land. Not passing two moneths after . . . two huge Dragons appeared in the air fighting, at last the one Dragon overcame the other, and that Dragon that was overcome made away unto the Sea, the conqueror following flew also after into the depth so they were no more to be seene". The genealogical portions of the work, however, especially that dealing with the ancestors and descendants of the higher nobility, were well received by Elizabethan scholars.

Brooke's *Catalogue* was a better planned and more compact work than that of Milles, but on the other hand it was less interesting. Brooke avoided many pitfalls by beginning his work with the Norman Conquest and by confining his efforts strictly to genealogy. Vincent, whose *Discoverie* is still frequently quoted as a reliable authority in English genealogy, was both a more accurate and more interesting writer than was Brooke, but of the work of both of these scholars we have already spoken (Chapter XIII).

In 1622, also, Jaggard printed for John White a topographical and genealogical gazetteer, *The Description of Leicester Shire containing Matters of*

Antiquitye, Historye, Armourye and Genealogy by William Burton, the brother of Robert Burton the "Anatomist" and a kinsman of Vincent. The descriptions of the localities of Leicestershire arranged in alphabetical order contain a brief historical and topographical survey of the community, an enumeration of the coats of arms in the monuments and windows of the churches, and occasionally genealogical tables of prominent families. Burton in this rather unfinished work confines himself almost entirely to genealogical and topographical facts, but occasionally he relates local legends such as "the strange tale of a certaine religious yong maid" who died at Leicester in 1225 and "who being shut up for the space of seven yeres before her death tasted no meate or drinke".



PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM BURTON
from the second edition of his *WICLSTERSHIRE* (1777)

CHAPTER XXV

“ BOOKES OF FARRE JOURNEYING MEN ”

BOOKS of geography and travel were very popular in England in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period that great age of exploration and colonization. In size these books varied from the small pamphlet which narrated the adventures of a traveller to the imposing volumes of Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589) and Samuel Purchas' *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). William Jaggard, however, showed little interest in this type of literature.

For his brother John Jaggard he printed three editions (1608, 1611 and 1616) of Robert Johnson's translation of Giovanni Botero's *Relations of the most famous Kingdoms and Common-weales throughout the World*. The author, Botero (1540-1617), an Italian theologian, scientist, diplomat and man of letters, obtained much of his information by actual travel and residence in the countries which he describes. The book is a survey of the entire world including the recently discovered continent of Australia. Botero was a careful writer and, unlike many contemporary geographers, included little that was fabulous. So carefully, in fact, did he weigh his evidence that his book contains nothing more

startling than a statement concerning the inhabitants of Finland, concerning whom Botero writes, "The menne heere live very long, cheefly in the most northerly parts, neither is it miraculous among them to see a manne live above an hundered and thirty or fourty yeeres".

A much more interesting book is *Thomas Coryate, Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting from the Court of the Great Mogul*, which Jaggard printed for himself and Henry Fetherston in 1616. Tom Coryate, at the time of the publication of this pamphlet of letters, was already famous for his *Crudities* in which he discoursed at large of his journey through Europe, a work which had already become a guide-book for English travellers. In 1612 the eccentric wit hung the shoes in which he had returned from Venice on the walls of his parish church in his native town of Odcombe, made a proclamation at the market cross of his intention of being gone for ten years, and then began his great journey through Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, the Holy Lands, Persia and finally to India. During his travels most of which were accomplished on foot he learned Turkish, Persian and Hindustani.

He paused at divers times, however, to write letters to his friends in England. From the "town of Asmere in Easterne India" he wrote to his "Odcombian neighbour", Sir Edward Phillips, Master of the Rolls. Tom begins his narrative with his return to Aleppo from Jerusalem from whence he went into Mesopotamia where he visited "Ur of

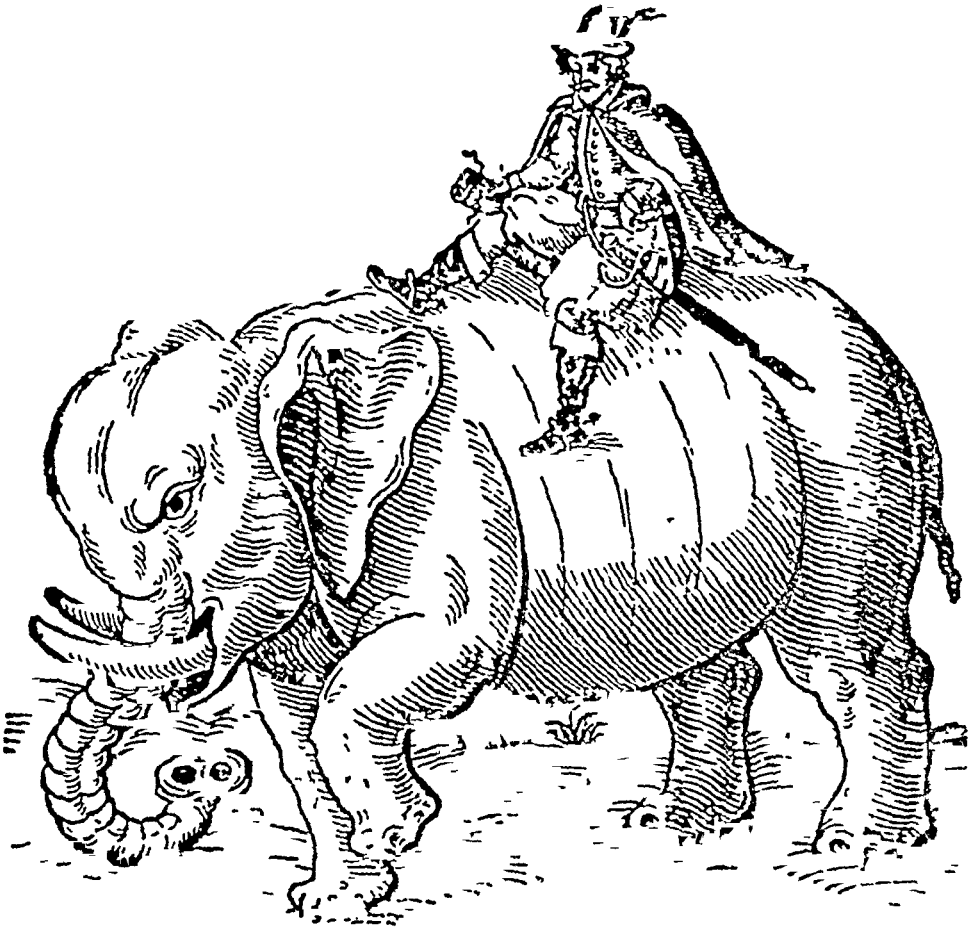
the Chaldees, a very delicate and pleasant Cittie ". Then he turned his steps towards India. On the border of Persia and India he met with Sir Robert Sherley and his lady. Tom Coryate was delighted to learn that they were carrying with them both his " Bookes neatly kept " and that they intended to show them to the Persian king. In all, he walked from Jerusalem to " Asmere ", a total of 2,700 miles in " 15 monthes and odde daies ". Unlike many other travellers, Coryate found reason to marvel at the lightness of his expenses. In his " ten moneths travels betwixt Aleppo and the Moguls Court " he spent but fifty shillings. So cheap were victuals that he often fared reasonably well on a penny a day. He was robbed, however, of most of his money by a soldier of the Great Turk, but upon his arrival at Asmere he was well received by the English merchants there.

The next letter in the pamphlet was addressed to " the Worshipful Fraternitie of Sirenical Gentlemen that meet the first Fridaie of every moneth at the signe of the Mere-Maide in Bread-streete ", a company which Coryate tells us includes John Donne, Ben Jonson, Samuel Purchas, Inigo Jones and Edward Blount, the future coadjutor of Jaggard in the First Folio enterprise.

Tom, we learn, was much impressed with the Court of the Grand Mogul. " He keepeth ", Coryate writes, " an abundance of wilde Beastes & that of divers sorts as Lyons, Elephants, Leopards, Beares, Antelopes and Unicorns . . . Twice each

week Elephants fight before him, the bravest spectacle in the world : many of them are thirteen foote and a halfe high ; and they seeme to justle together like two little Mountaines, and were they not parted in the midst of their fighting by certain fire-workes, they would exceedingly gore and crurate one another by their murdering teeth. Of Elephants the King keepeth 3000 in his whole Kingdome at an unmeasurable charge ; in the feeding of whom, and his lyons and other beastes, he spendeth an incredible masse of money, at the least ten thousand pounds sterling a day. I have rid upon an elephant since I came to this Court, determining one day (by Gods leave) to have my picture expressed in my next Booke, sitting upon an Elephant". This very modest wish of Tom Coryate was carried out. On the page opposite that which bears the passage which we have quoted, there appears a woodcut which is here reproduced.

Poor Tom Coryate ! His resolution to travel for ten years was unbroken when he died, in 1617, at Surat in Northern India, and his ashes rest far from his beloved village of Odcombe, which he had made famous.



Loe heere the wooden Image of our wits;
Borne, in first trauaile, on the backs of Nits;
But now on Elephants, &c:
O, what will he ride, when his yeares expire?
The world must ride him; or he all will tire

CHAPTER XXVI

A DICTIONARY

D ICTIONARIES of the English language were still somewhat of a novelty in the London book-market of Jaggard's time, although lexicons of foreign words with their English equivalents were already fairly numerous. Nevertheless, the repeated editions in which some English dictionaries appeared show that a good book of this nature could be a profitable publication. One of the earliest English dictionaries is *A Table Alphabeticall, or, The English Expositor, Containing and Teaching the true Writing and Understanding of hard usual English Words* by Robert Cawdrey, published by Edmund Weaver. Of this Jaggard printed the fourth edition in 1617.

Cawdrey's *Table* is a small and simple dictionary. Its purpose is strictly utilitarian. Definitions are seldom given ; instead, the words are explained by synonyms " plaine English words gathered for the benefit and helpe of all unskilled persons, whereby they may more easily and better understand many hard English words which they may heare or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or else where, and also be made able to use the same aptly themselves ".

In his preface, Cawdrey urges all those who have occasion to speak in public, especially preachers,

never to “ affect any strange inkhorn tearmes but to speake as is commonly received, and so as the most ignorant may wel understand them ”. He bewails the fact that “ so overcurious is the speech ” of “ fine English Clearkes ” that though they say they speak in their mother tongue their speech is so outlandish that their own mothers could hardly understand them. Indeed, he urges, “ one might well charge them for counterfayting the Kings English ”.

Especially does Cawdrey inveigh against “ some far journied Gentlemen ” who “ at their returne home, like as they love to go in forraine apparrell, so they will poulder their talke with oversea language. He that commeth lately out of France will talk French English and never blush at the matter. Another chops in with English Itahnite ”.

These criticisms of the language of Shakespeare's day were, of course, commonplaces. But despite the frequent denunciations of their efforts, “ fine English Clearkes ” continued to add to their mother tongue “ curious inkhorne tearmes ” and “ far journied Gentlemen ” ceased not to enlarge their native language with words imported from overseas. Indeed, it is of interest to note that the second part of Henry Cockeran's *English Dictionary or, An Interpreter of hard English Words*, which Isaac Jaggard printed for Weaver in 1626, is a table of ordinary words with their less common equivalents, evidently made for the express benefit of those who desired to avoid the use of “ plaine English words ”.

CHAPTER XXVII

LITERATURE

F \NGLISH literature was in its golden age during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and in the London book-market it occupied an important place, being exceeded only by theology and religion. Appealing to many classes of people, the literature of Shakespeare's day took many varied forms and most of these types are represented in the output of Jaggard's press.

The ballad, as a glance at the titles in the Stationers' Register for those years before ballad entries were discontinued will show, was an extremely popular form of literature in Shakespeare's time. Besides filling the rôle of the modern song sheet, it also performed some of the functions of the present day newspaper. It was used for political propaganda, religious controversy, social satire, moral instruction and the dissemination of news. Its themes were as diverse as Roman mythology and the latest murder. Of the vast number of these fragile broadside sheets and pamphlets which were printed, only a very small portion has survived. Although Jaggard may have printed others (*cf.* Chapter XI), apparently but one ballad issued from his press has been preserved, *Adam Bell, Clim of Clough and William of Cloudsle*, which Jaggard

published in 1610. This ballad of the Robin Hood cycle narrates two stories. William of Cloudsley, as it is related in the first episode, having gone to Carlisle to visit his family, was by treachery taken by the sheriff who speedily prepared to hang him ; but his two comrades, Adam Bell and Clim of Clough, by posing as messengers of the King, gained entrance to the city and rescued him from the gallows killing over three hundred residents of Carlisle in the process. The second episode of the ballad concerns the expedition of these three worthies to London for the purpose of obtaining a pardon for their misdeeds from the King. This they obtained by the Queen's intercession. Afterwards they engaged in a contest of skill with the King's archers in which, after performing many feats, William of Cloudsley shot an apple from the head of his son. The ballad ends with these three interesting outlaws and their families pardoned by the King, assoiled by the bishop, and in an instant converted into good, honest, respectable, middle class people and Civil Service employees.

Associated with the ballad, but much less popular, was the tale in prose. The art of continued prose narration has not yet been very well developed and the Elizabethan prose tale usually consisted of little more than a string of anecdotes with slight connection except for the fact that one or more characters turn up repeatedly in them.

Only one example of this type of literature, the romance of *Thomas of Reading, or, The sixe worthie*

Yeomen of the West, by the silk weaver and pedlar, Thomas Deloney, was printed by Jaggard (for Pavier in 1623). The action of the book takes place in a middle class atmosphere with clothiers as the principal heroes. In the sixth chapter Deloney gives us a vivid picture of London as it appeared to the wives of four country clothiers upon their first visit to the city : “ When the merchants of London understood they were in town, they invited them every day home to their owne houses where they had dilicate good cheere : and when they went abroad to see the commodities of the Cittie, the Merchants wives ever bore them companie, being attired most daintie and fine : which when the Clothiers wives did see, it grieved their hearts they had not the like.

“ Now when they were brought into Cheape-side, there with great wonder they beheld the shops of the Goldsmithes ; and on the other side, the wealthy Mercers, whose shoppes shined with all sorts of coloured silkes : in Watlingstreete they viewed a great number of Drapers : in Saint Martins, Shoomakers : at Saint Nicholas Church, the flesh shambles : at the end of the old Change, the fishmongers : in Candleweeke street, the Weavers : then came they into the Jewes streete, where all the Jewes did inhabite : then came they to Blackwell Hall, where the country Clothiers did use to meete.

“ Afterwards they proceeded, and came to S. Paules Church, whose steeple was so high that it

seemed to pierce the cloudes, on the top whereof was a great and mightie Wethercocke, of cleane silver, the which notwithstanding seemed as small as a sparrow to mens eyes it stood so exceeding high, the which goodly weathercocke was afterwards stolen away by a cunning cripple who found meanes one night to clime up to the top of the steeple, and tooke it downe : with the which, and a great summe he got together by begging in his life time, he builded a gate on the North-side of the Citty, which to this day is called Cripple-gate.

“ From thence they went to the Tower of London, which was builded by Julius Caesar who was Emperour of Rome. And there they beheld salt and wine which had lien there ever since the Romaines invaded this land, which was many yeares before our Saviour Christ was borne, the wine was growne so thick that it might have beene cut like a jelly. And in that place also they saw the money that was made of leather, which in ancient time was currant amongst the people ”.

Thus went these four good ladies, like modern day tourists, viewing the sights of London. And after they had seen the shops of Cheapside, so Deloney's story goes, they refused to wear gowns made in Reading but compelled their husbands to buy them apparel in London.

Another type of popular literature of Jaggard's time was the miscellaneous pamphlet, a form which included such small publications as jest books, collections of anecdotes and remarks upon current

topics. Of these Jaggard printed but one pamphlet, Thomas Dekker's *The Dead Tearme, or Westminster Complaint for long Vacations and short Termes : Written in the manner of a Dialogue betweene two Cityes, London and Westminster* (1608) which was sold by John Hodgetts. It is a hasty patchwork of little value, a medley of local history, facetiae and protests against the sins of London.

The ballad, prose romance and miscellaneous pamphlet were, as a rule, addressed to a popular audience and written by professional hack writers. Among the *literati*, however, especially among the wits of the universities and the Inns of Court, there was a considerable amount of sonneteering, for to be able to write a neatly turned lyric for almost any occasion was considered an accomplishment which every well-trained young man should possess. These verses, for the most part, were addressed to a limited circle and they usually circulated only in manuscript. Sometimes the author's friends allowed the poems to be printed, an action which, we have reason to believe, was usually pleasing to the author even though, in order to make it clear that he was not a hack writer who composed verses for pay, he might protest against the printing of his work.

Jaggard issued two books of lyrics. One of them was the second edition of *Lady Pecunia, or, The Praise of Money* (1605) by Richard Barnfield, "Graduate of Oxford", which was sold by Hodgetts. Barnfield, to judge from the number of books of

poems of his which were published and by the "Letter to the Gentleman Readers" which he prefixed to the volume, was perfectly willing to have his verses printed. Almost certainly a friend of Shakespeare, Barnfield has the distinction of having written poems which for years were thought to be the work of the great bard. His verses in praise of the dramatist are well known :

And Shakespeare thou, whose hony-flowing Vaine
(Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth containe
Whose Venus and whose Lucrece (sweete and chaste)
Thy name in fames immortall Booke have plac't,
Live ever you, at least in Fame live ever ;
Well may the Bodye dye, but Fame dies never.

In his edition William Jaggard omitted two of the best poems of *Lady Pecunia* which had been included in the first edition (1598) published by his brother John an ode, "As it fell upon a Day", and a sonnet, "If Musique and sweet Poetrie agree", both of which he had thrust into a collection of lyrics called *The Passionate Pilgrime* which he had published in 1599 as the work of William Shakespeare. Although Professor Edward Arber argued (in his edition of Barnfield's *Poems*, 1882, p. xxii) that this was done merely to save space, it seems to us more likely that Jaggard omitted them because he did not wish to attribute these poems to different authors.

The Passionate Pilgrime, as we have seen, in the hands of William Jaggard went through three editions, that of 1599, a lost edition and the third

edition of 1612, enlarged by the inclusion of two "epistles" translated by Heywood and a few other poems. The five sonnets of Shakespeare which are included in this anthology are too well known for us to need to refer to them, but the following stanza of a poem by an unknown writer describing his inconstant love will give an idea of the general poetic level of the volume :

Fair is my love, but not so faine as fickle,
Milde as a Dove, but neither true nor trustie,
Brighter then glasse, and yet as glasse is brittle,
Softer then waxe and yet as Iron rusty ;
A Lily pale, with damaske die to grace her ;
None faner, nor none falser to deface her.

The lyric poetry of the Elizabethan age is still famous, but its religious and didactic poetry is seldom read to-day. A collection of poems of this class was among the first books published by Jaggard, *Hunnies Recreations : Containing four goodlie and compendious Discourses intituled, Adams Banishment, Christ his Crib, The lost Sheepe, The Complaint of Old Age : Whereunto is newly adjoined these two notable and pithie Treatises : The Creation, or the First Weeke, The Life and Death of Joseph : Compiled by William Hunnis, one of the gentlemen of hir Majesties Chappel and maister of the Children of the same* (1595). All six poems are written in a very jiggling ballad metre which has a ludicrous effect when treating a solemn subject as, for example, the description of the work of the Second Day of Creation :

The firmament he framed and fixt
 betweene the waters so,
As part above the same did rest,
 The other part below.
And gave a name thereto and said,
 it heaven shall called be
The evening and the morning eke
 the second day you see.

Hunnis is best known as the Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal whose acting drew many patrons away from the public theatres, a circumstance which aroused the wrath of Shakespeare (*Hamlet* II, II, 353-60). It is of interest, then, to read his description of a youth's education in "The Complaint of Age" :

While that the little boy
 with top and scurge gan plaie,
And while the stripling goes to schoole
 his grammar part to say
While those of further yeares
 phylosophies doe read
And cull the bloomes of rhetoricke
 and figures finely spread.
While they themselves delight
 in poets fables vaine :
And while they range in arguments
 which Logicke can maintain.
While they the time emploie
 to publish matters small
(Though of no weight) by eloquence
 to shew their skill withall . . .
While they they Greeke translate,
 in Latin for to goe,
And Latin into Greeke likewise
 their cunning for to shew.

While forren toongs they seeke
 their knowledge to maintaine :
 And fear not to transfret the seas
 And Alps to clime with paine
 While they themselves acquaint
 With countries that be strange,
 With forren courts, with things unknown
 and other things of change
 While they thus busie be
 stiffe age comes stealing in
 And lies his crutch upon their backs
 And dooth the maisterie win.

A strange work to modern eyes is the *Summa totalis*, or *All in All*, and *the Same For Ever* of John Davies of Hereford, which Jaggard published in 1607. It is a poem written in stanzas much like the Spenserian, expounding the nature of God. One stanza, discoursing of the dual nature of man, will serve as an example of his style :

For men (like *Paphlagonean* Patridges)
 Bare in a single *Breast* a double *Heart*,
 With One of which, they seeme *God's* Images,
 But with the other play the *Devils* part,
 Who to all Shapes, for ill themselves convert
 These are the *Things* (the Things I them do call,
 Sith for such Artists, I want Tearmes of Art)
 That crouching stand by *Kings* till Kings do fal,
 Then fly these Swallowes lest they fall withall

Another religious poem published by Jaggard early in his career is G. Ellis's *The Lamentation of the lost Sheepe* (1605). The tone is lugubrious and the air of piety is strained and seemingly insincere :

From bad to worse still growes this wicked world,
 Wherefore I think that Platoes wondrous yeere

(When as the Orbes of heaven shall be resolved,
To their first course approacheth very neere ;
The bands of th'element shall be dissolved
And till those daies of consumation come
Cares shall make [me] mute, & sorrowes make me dumb

These books of poems were small pamphlets, but Heywood's *Troia Britannica, or, Great Britaines Troy, a Poem intermixed with many pleasant Poeticall Tales, concluding with an universall Chronicle from the Creation to the present Times*, published by Jaggard in 1609, is a pretentious work, a small folio volume containing 466 pages of poetry besides the introduction. The author fortunately spends most of his time in retelling poetical tales derived from Homer, Virgil and Ovid. When, however, he does fall seriously to work in tracing the genealogies of the Kings of England from Adam or to summarize the history of the world in strict chronological order by devoting a stanza to each year's events, the poetry becomes very dull indeed. When narrating incidents of the Trojan War, however, Heywood is at his best. The Troilus which he depicts, for instance, forms an interesting contrast to the rather degenerate character portrayed by Shakespeare :

The most redoubted Troylus, youngest of five,
Next after Hector was esteemed in field
(Save his bold brother) the best knight alive,
Most expert in the use of sword and shield :
Amorous of Calchas daughter ¹. Ladies strive
Which to his sweet embracements soon'st may yield :
Never was Knight in valor better proved,
Or Courtier amongst Ladies deerlye loved

¹ Cressida

The essay was a comparatively new literary form in Shakespeare's time, but both because of the prominence of the author and the fascinating qualities of the work, Francis Bacon's *Essays*, *Religious Meditations*, *Places of Persuasion and Dissuasion*, was a much read book. John Jaggard, who held the copyright, derived from it a steady profit. Between 1606 and 1613 William Jaggard printed for his brother four and perhaps five editions of this famous work, and each edition was no doubt of the maximum size. Bacon's *Essays* no doubt appealed not only to lovers of literature but to that larger class of Jacobean readers who perused sermons, for Bacon includes much which is not unlike superb preaching. Even the first sentence of the *Essays* as they appeared in the Jaggard editions would almost certainly attract the attention of the sermon-reading group : " The quarrels and divisions for religion were evils unknown to the Heathen, and no marvell ; for it is the true God that is the jealous God ; & the Gods of the Heathen were good fellowes ". But in his essays Bacon does more than sermonize. He gives the reader advice on all sorts of subjects on the best means to preserve his health, on how he may learn to manage men, and how he may attain success. The *Essays*, we may be certain, were read by many who hoped to learn to succeed by reading Francis Bacon's wise words.

The Elizabethan age was distinguished by its happy translations of the classics both those of

Greek and Roman antiquity and those of renaissance Italy, France and Spain. Of the works of the ancient authors, besides the writings of the Greek and Latin historians of which we have spoken in Chapter XXIV, there was published in 1616 by the printing



house in Barbican, George Chapman's translation of *The Divine Poem of Musaeus, the first of all Books* by the grammarian, Musaeus, who lived in the fifth century of our era. This writer, however, was confused with a semi-mythological Athenian poet who

is said to have lived in the time of Orpheus, to have gone with Jason on the quest of the Golden Fleece and to have written on the genealogies of the gods. The poem itself, the tragic tale of the priestess Hero and her lover Leander, was much imitated by Elizabethan and Jacobean writers.

Boccaccio's *Decameron* was well known in England before Jaggard issued in 1620 a translation of it by an unknown hand, but his tales had been available only in such collections as Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. The speed with which the volumes sold shows how well received was this delightful collection of tales, but on the other hand, as we have seen, the Puritan opposition to them because of their supposed obscenity was probably sufficient to stop the completion of the second edition.

During the reign of Elizabeth and James the drama reached heights which have never been equalled. The non-Puritan element of London gave the theatre its hearty support, but at the same time the number of theatre-goers were so small that the run of a play was very short. This forced the production of numerous plays and enabled a number of poets to earn their livelihood by writing for the stage. Only a relatively small portion of this huge quantity of plays was printed but, nevertheless, a strong demand existed for copies of successful plays. Except for the fact that stage managers were usually less willing to permit the printing of the manuscripts under their control than were preachers, the publication of plays was probably governed by the

same conditions which controlled the publication of sermons.¹

Besides stage plays, the Elizabethan and Jacobean public enjoyed pageants which were produced upon occasions of general festivity such as Lord Mayor's Day or the visit of the King to the City. As a pageant was usually produced but once and then not for the purpose of private profit, no objections as a rule, were raised to the printing of the text. There is reason, indeed, to believe that a pageant was often printed before its production in order to multiply copies to aid the numerous performers to memorize their parts and to assist the spectators to understand the action which was often an exceedingly involved mythological allegory.

Of pageants Jaggard published two both by Anthony Munday. The first of these, *The Triumphs of a reunited Britanica*, was performed in 1605 to welcome Sir Leonard Holliday as Lord Mayor. The production was elaborate. Greek gods, the Guildhall Giants and numerous other mythological figures rubbed elbows on a goodly ship called *The Royal Exchange* which was wheeled through the City. The action, too, was involved. With much strange mythological history in which he traced the history of the British Isles back to Noah, Munday demonstrated that the English, Scotch and Welsh nations were all descended from three brothers. By misfortune, he maintained, they had been separated,

¹ For a full discussion of the publication of plays during this period, see Miss E. M. Albright, *Dramatic Publication in England*

but they were now happily united under King James. The second pageant published by Jaggard in 1611, Munday's *Chruso-thriambos* ("the triumph of gold"), was used to escort Pemberton, the new Lord Mayor, to Westminster. St. Dunstan, the patron of the Goldsmiths, an Indian king and queen, and goldsmiths who were prominent in the City in former times, all were represented as contributing their flattery to the new Lord Mayor.

The stage plays printed by William Jaggard are so well known that little need be said here concerning them. The first and probably the most profitable play-pamphlet issued by him was Heywood's *Woman Kild with Kindnesse*, a domestic tragedy. Of this the first edition was printed in 1607 and sold by Hodgetts, but the third edition (1612) was published by the Jaggards. Hodgetts also sold Thomas Dekker and John Webster's boisterous and unrefined domestic comedy, *Westward Hoe*, which Jaggard printed in 1607. For John Budge Jaggard printed in 1612 Field's *A Woman is a Weathercock*, a comedy of intrigue, the plot of which is made improbable by disguises and other stage tricks. In 1619 Jaggard printed for Pavier as the work of Shakespeare *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, a murder-play, probably written by Thomas Heywood¹ and "a Protestant miracle play", *Sir John Oldcastle*, the joint work of Drayton, Munday, Wilson and Hathaway.

¹ Shakespeare, however, may have written the first scene of the *Tragedy*.

To conclude our summary of the books printed by Willham Jaggard we need but mention the name of one more author, that of William Shakespeare, the most popular dramatist of the printer's day. His *Hamlet* was exceeded in the number of performances only by Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, and most of his other plays appeared repeatedly upon the stage. His productions, too, were sought for eagerly for publication in quarto by London stationers. Jaggard, as we have seen, printed surreptitiously in 1619, probably for a syndicate composed of Pavier, Johnson, Butter and himself 2 & 3 *Henry VI*, *Henry V*, *Pericles*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *King Lear*, and *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, and later, between 1621 and 1623, he and his son printed for another syndicate composed of Jaggard, Blount, Smethwick and Aspley, the first collected works of the poet, a volume which contained all the plays of Shakespeare except *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (written in collaboration with John Fletcher). But the plays of Shakespeare need no comment it is enough for us to attempt to show in what company came into existence this most precious of all English books.

FINIS

INDEX

- Adam Bell*, 96, 107, 108, 282-4
 Adams, Thomas, stationer, 74, 94, 95, 104, 108, 122.
 Adams, Rev Thomas, *The Blacke Devill*, 106, 120, 134, 202-4
 Advertising. title-pages used for advertising books, pp 29 ff
 Albertus Magnus, *Secretes*, 44-5, 117, 179, 227-9
Anathomie of Sinne, see Hall, Joseph
 Andrewes, Launcelot, *Seven Sermons*, 179
 Arundel, Earl of, 147-9
 Aspley, William, 158, 164, 171
 Astrology, 230.
 Attersoll, William, 3, 19, *Badges of Christianity (The New Covenant)*, 72, 105, 212, *Commentarie upon Numbers*, 117-20, 206-7, *Commentarie upon Philemon*, 101, 207, *Continuation of the Exposition of Numbers*, 96, 206-8, *Pathway to Canaan*, 96, 206
 Bacon, Francis, 73, 121, *Essays*, 72-3, 103, 292
 Ballads, 33, 282-3
 Bankworth, Richard, 100
 Barnfield, Richard, *Lady Pecunia*, 49-50, 56, 286-7
 Beale, John, 73, 110
 Beard, Thomas, *The Antichrist*, 178
 Belle, Thomas, *The Jesuite Antepast*, 83, 136, 210-11, *Tryall of the New Religion*, 83, 136, 210
 Bellamy, John, 178
 Benn, Anthony, 121
 Biography, 265-7
 Blore, Ralph, 52, 55, 58-9.
 Blount, Edward, 105, 159, 164, 171-2.
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Decameron*, 140, 178, 294
 Boman, Richard, 170
 Bookselling, 28 ff
 Botero, Giovanni, *Observations on the Lives of Alexander, Caesar and Scipio*, 71, *The Travellers Breviat (Relations of the most famous Kingdomes)*, 71, 84, 100, 116, 275-6
 Bourne, Nicholas, 105, 113
 Bowles, Alice, see Jaggard, Alice
 Bowles, Francis, 176
 Britaines Busse, 105, 238-9
 Brooke, Ralph, 144 ff, *Catalogue and Succession*, 19, 93, 125, 145, 272-3
 Browne, John, 57.
 Buck, Sir George, 167
 Budge, John, 95, 100
 Bullein, William, *Bulwarke against Sickness*, 86
 Bunny, Edmund, 191, *Head-Corner-Stone*, 100, 102, 207
 Burby, Cuthbert, 77
 Burre, Walter, 141-2
 Burton, William, *Description of Leicester Shire*, 167, 273-4
 Butter, Nathaniel, 126 ff, 158
 Caldwell, Lawrence, 123
 Camden, William, 96, 144 ff
 Carleton, George, *Astologomania*, 177, 230
 Cawdrey, Robert, *Table alphabet-call of English Words*, 179, 280-1
 Censorship, see Printing
 Chapman, George, 116, 293
 Charlwood, Alice, see Roberts, Alice
 Charlwood, John, 42
 Cockeram, Henry, *English Dictionary*, 179, 281.

Condell, Henry, 160-3, 167.
 Coryate, Thomas, *For the English Wits Greeting*, 113, 276-8.
 Cotes, Elizabeth, 80
 Cotes, Richard, 17, 51, 143, 180, 183
 Cotes, Thomas, 17, 46, 51, 91, 143, 180
 Crakanthorp, Richard, Sermon, 94, 246-8
 Crooke, Helkiah, 14, 103, 186, *Mikrologosmographia*, 93, 106-7, 114, 120, 223-4
 Culpeper, Sir Thomas, *Tract against Usurie*, 142, 236-7

 Davies, Sir John, *Discoverie why Ireland was never subdued*, 101, 241-2
 Davies, John, of Hereford, *Summa totalis*, 77, 290
 Dekker, Thomas, *The Dead Tearme*, 84, 136, 286
 Dekker, Thomas and John Webster, *Westward Ho*, 78, 296
 Deloney, Thomas, *Thomas of Reading*, 283-6
 Denham, Elizabeth, 67-8
 Denham, Henry, 39-41, 76
 Dent, Arthur, *Ruine of Rome*, 77, 208
 Dering, Edward, *Godly Private Prayers*, 177, 194, 107-8, *Sermons*, 198, *Short Catechisme*, 107-8, 177-9, 194, *Workes*, 105, 198
 Dethick, William, 145
 Dewe, Thomas, 159, 167-8
 Dictionaries, 280-1
 Didactic poetry 288-90
 "Discovery of the Jesuites, A," 126
 Divine right of kings, 242-9
 Dove, John, *Sermon*, 43, 195, 198-9.
 Drayton, Michael, 128

 E S, see *Britaines Busse*
 Economics, 236-9
 Ellis, G, *Lamentation of the Lost Sheepe*, 70, 290-1.
 Elyott, Sir Thomas, *Castel of Helth*, 95, 221-3
 Encyclopedia, an, 261.
Englands Joy, playbill for, 65.

Essays, 292.
 Eure, Lord, 110 ff
 Evans, John, 175.

 Favyn, André, *Theater of Honor*, 143-4, 150, 166-7, 175, 268-72.
 Featherstone, Henry, 113
 Field, Nathan, *Woman is a Weathercock*, 14, 100, 296
 Fisher, Thomas, 130
 Flesher, Miles, 183
 Fosbrooke, Nathaniel, 72
 Frewen, John, *Certain Sermons*, 100.

Greivous Grones for the Poore, 143, 233-4
 Genealogy, 267-74.
 Geography, 275-9
 Gesner, Conrad, 17, 78
 Glover, Robert, *Nobilitas*, 84-5, 96, 126, 268
God and the King, 110 ff
 Gosson, Henry, 77, 129
 Gourney, Sir Thomas, 123
 Grassi, Giacomini, *True Arte of Defence*, 54
 Greene, Thomas, 63
 Griffin, Edward, 105, 110

 Hall, Joseph, 106, attributed author, *Anathomie of Sinne (Two Guides to a Good Life)*, 63, 69, 84, 189-91
 Hall, William, 73
 Harrison, John, 143
 Hathaway, Richard, 128
 Hayes, Lawrence, 131, 138, 158
 Hayes, Thomas, 130
 Heminge, John, 160-3, 167.
 Henricus de Saxonia, 227
 Heraldry, 267-74
 Heywood, Thomas, 83-4, 87 ff., *Troia Britannica*, 3, 87, 136, 291, *Woman kild with Kindnesse*, 78, 117, 296; *Yorkshire Tragedy*, 128 ff, 296
 Hill, Thomas, *Physiognomy*, 104, 229-30, *Schoole of Skil*, 47, 213-4
 Hodgetts, John, 70, 78 |
 Hooker, Nicholas, 110
 Hooper, Humphrey, 72.
 Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton, *A Defensive against the*

Poyson of false Prophetes, 141, 230-1.
 Humphrey, Richard, *Conflict of Job*, 77
Hundred Merry Tales, 107, 109
 Hunnis, William, *Recreations*, 45, 288-90

Issues of books, 30 ff.

Jaggard, Alice, 176-7.
 Jaggard, Bridget, 36-7.
 Jaggard, Dorothy, 179
 Jaggard, Elizabeth, 55, 73
 Jaggard, Isaac, 103, 116, 118, 140, 143, 172, 175-80
 Jaggard, Jane, 43, 175, 177-8
 Jaggard, Joan, 175
 Jaggard, John, barber-surgeon, 36-38
 Jaggard, John, stationer, 49, 52 ff., 70-1, 84, 94, 101, 121-2, 143-4, 176, 179
 Jaggard, John, the younger, stationer, 122
 Jaggard, Thomas, 3, 175-6, 180-4
 Jaggard, William, early life, 38, apprenticeship, 39, begins work as publisher, 42, applies for privilege of printing players' bills, 43, marries, 43, pirates *The Passionate Pilgrime*, 47 ff; fined for publishing Sherley's *Journey*, 59, dedicates *View of the Lord Mayors of London* to Sir William Ryder, 61, rents right to print bills for Queen Anne's company, 64, takes control of Barbican printing house, 74, quarrels with Heywood, 87 ff, attributes Heywood's poems to Shakespeare 89, chosen City Printer, 97, gives plate to Stationers Company, 98, receives John Shakespeare as apprentice, 98-9, fined for printing apprentice indenture forms, 101, becomes blind, 102 ff, leases property in Leg Alley, Fleet Street, 123-4; issues falsely dated quartos by or ascribed to Shakespeare, 125 ff; elected to livery, 143, quarrels with Brooke and interrupts printing of First Folio in order to refute his claims, 144 ff,

defends skill as printer, 152 ff; possible claim to *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, 158, prints the First Folio of Shakespeare, 160 ff; dies, 173, will, 175 ff, his *Catalogue of English Books*, 31, 119, his *View of the Lord Mayors of London*, 60 ff

James I, 110, 147

Jesuits, "Discovery of", 126

Jewes Prophecy, 264-5

Johnson, Arthur, 126 ff, 158

Jonson, Ben, 157, 162

Jordan, William, 110

Judson, Thomas, 47

King's Company, 126 ff, 168-70

Knight, Clement, 82

Langley, Francis, 63

Latimer, Hugh, *Fruitfull Sermons*, 77, 197

Law, Matthew, 129, 158, 167-70

Leake, William, 49

Leg Alley tenement, 176, 181

Legal antiquities, 262

Legh, Gerard, *Accedence of Armorie*, 101, 268

Lincoln, Diocese of, Visitation articles, 103, 253-5

Literature, 282-97

London, Act for Reformation of the Wardemote Inquest, 98, 250-1, *Laves of the Market*, 98, 252-3, *Oath of every Free-man*, 98, 250, *Order for Meetings*, 98, 252

Lownes, Matthew, 71, 101, 141, 178

Lyrics, 286-8

Mabbe, Elizabeth, *see* Jaggard, Elizabeth

Marcelline, George, *Triumphs of King James*, 95, 248-9

Marshe, Thomas, 86

Medicine, 221-3

Milles, Thomas, 19, 84, 186, *Abrdgement of the Customer's Apologie*, 85; *Catalogue of Honor*, 85, 96, 126, 145-9, 268, 272-3, *Customer's Alphabet*, 85, *Customer's Apologie*, 85, *Mystery of Iniquity*, 85, *Out-port Customer's Accompt*, 101, *Treasure of Auncient and Modern Times*, 102-4, 125, 261

Milton, John, 180
 Mockett, Thomas, *God and the King*,
 110 ff , 244-6
 Montague, Sir Henry, 121
More Strange News, see *True Re-
 port*
 "Mores Catechisme", 107-8
 Morley, Bridget, see Jaggard,
 Bridget.
 Munday, Anthony, 128 , *Briefe
 Chronicle*, 98, 100, 126, 257-8 ,
Chruso-thiambos, 100, 296 ,
Triumphs of a reunited Britanica,
 70, 295-6
 Musacus, *Divine Poem*, 116, 293-4

 Natural history, 214-21
 Newsbooks, 262-5
 Norton, Bonham, 55, 71
 Norwich, Diocese of, Visitation
 articles, 103, 119, 253-5

 Oldecastle, Sir John, 128 ff , see
 also *Sir John Oldcastle*
 Overbury, Sir Thomas, *The Wife*,
 179
Our three great Deliverances, 179
 Ovid, *Remedies of Love*, 57

 Paré, Ambroise, *Methods of Curing
 Wounds*, 117-8, 120, 126, 225-6
 Parker, Edward, Lord Morley,
 110 ff
 Parr, Queen Katharine, *Sweet Song
 of a Sinner*, 107-8
 Parret, Sir James, *Invitation to
 Prayer*, 177
 Parsons, Robert, 83 , *Second Part of
 the Book of Christian Exercises*,
 96, 106, 125, 191-2
Passionate Pilgrime, 2, 15, 61, 89,
 91, 101, 287-8
Pathway to Please God, 107-8
 Pavier, Thomas, 61, 63, 95, 126,
 142, 158, 164, 175
 Physiognomy, 229-30
 Piracy of books, 13 ff
 Plays, 294-7
 Political Science, 239-49
 Prices of books, 32
 Printing, regulation and censorship
 of, 5 ff
 Proof-reading, 25 ff , 154
 "Prysoners conference", 71

Public printing, 250-5.
 Publishers and authors, 13 ff
 Pullein, Thomas, *Jeremiah's Teares*,
 82, 200-2

 Raleigh, Sir Walter, *History of the
 World*, 141-3, 165, 258-60
 Rastell, William, *Table*, 74, 104,
 256-7
 Read, Alexander, *Somatographia
 Anthropine*, 114-6, 224-5
 Religion, 189 ff
 Religious controversy, 209-12
 Religious poetry, 290-1
 Rich, Barnaby, *New Description of
 Ireland*, 95, 240-1
 Roberts, Alice, 42, 43, 64-75
 Roberts, James, 43, 64-6, 74-6, 96,
 107.
 Roberts, Richard, 75
Robin Conscience, 107-8
 "Rodomantodos or Brabadoes and
 bragardismes", 97
 Romances, 283-5
 Ryder, Sir William, 61

 Sallust, *Two most worthy Histories*,
 84, 266
 Saltern, George, *Antient Laws of
 Great Britaine*, 71, 261-2
 Science, 213-226
 Seaton, Gregory, 82
 Sermons, 195-204
 Shakespeare, John, 98-9
 Shakespeare, Thomas, 99.
 Shakespeare, William, 145 , *Come-
 dies, Histories & Tragedies*, 1, 21,
 143-4, 167, 172 ff , 297 , "the
 1619 quartos", 3, 126 ff , *All's
 Well*, 172 ; *Anthony and Cleo-
 patra*, 159 n , 172 , *As You Like
 It*, 172 , *Comedy of Errors*, 172 ,
Coriolanus, 172 , *Cymbeline*, 171-
 2 , *Hamlet*, 158 , 1 *Henry IV*,
 158, 167-8, 170 , 2 *Henry IV*, 158 ,
Henry V, 126 ff , 1 *Henry VI*,
 172 n , 2 *Henry VI*, 158 , 2, 3
Henry VI (The Whole Contention),
 127 ff , *Henry VIII*, 172 , *Julius
 Caesar*, 172 , *King Lear*, 130 ff ,
 158 , *Love's Labour's Lost*, 158 ,
Macbeth, 172 , *Measure for Mea-
 sure*, 172 , *Merchant of Venice*, 65,
 130 ff , 158 , *Merry Wives*, 158 ,

Midsummer's Night's Dream, 130 ff, 158; *Much Ado*, 158; *Othello* 167, *The Passionate Pilgrime*, see *Passionate Pilgrime*, *Pericles*, 158, 161, *Richard II*, 158, 168-70, *Richard III*, 158, 167-70, *Romeo and Juliet*, 158, *Tempest*, 172, *Timon*, 171-2; *Titus Andronicus*, 65, 158, *Troilus and Cressida*, 159, 170-1, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 172, *Twelfth Night*, 172, *Winter's Tale*, 166, 169, 172

Shaw, George, 52, 55-6
 Sherley, Sir Anthony, *Journey*, 57 ff
Sir John Oldcastle, 128 ff
 Smethwicke, John, 158-9, 161, 171
 Snodham, Thomas, 110
 Social reform, 232-6
 Sparke, Michael, 62, 142-3, 179
 Sparks, George, 179
 Spitchurst, Simon, 110 ff
 Speed, Daniel, 117
 Stafford, Simon, 129
 Stansby, William, 141-2, 148-50, 162
 Stationers' Company, 3, 5, 6, 11-12, 95, 176
 Stubbes, Philip, *A christal Glass for Christian Women*, 142, 192-3, 265
 Sunday reading an aid to Jacobean publishing, 187
 Superstition, 227-31
 Surgery, 223-6
 Sutton, Christopher, *Godly Meditations*, 113
 Swain, Robert, 179
 Swynnerton, John, *Christian Love Letter*, 72, 211

Taming of a Shrew, 159
 Tasso, Torquato, *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, 71
 Theology, 206-12
This World's Folly, 105, 234-5
 Thorp, Thomas, 16
 Thucydides, *History*, 77, 257
 Topsell, Edward, 3, 38, 186, "History of Birdes", 17, 80, *Historie of foure-footed Beastes*, 78, 113, 214-9, *Historie of Serpents*, 79-80, 214, 219-21, *The Householder*, 94, 199-200

Tottell, Richard, 52 ff
 Tottell, William, 54 and note
 Translations, 292-3
 Travel, 275-9
Treasure of Gladness, 107-8
Troublesome Reign of King John, 159, 167-8
 Trogus Pompeius, *Historie of Justine*, 72, 257
 "True perfection of cutwoiks", 46, 56
True Report of certain Overflowings in Summerset-shire (and More Strange News), 77, 130, 263-4
Two Guides to a good Life, see Hall, Joseph

Ursinus, John, *Romane Conclave*, 94

Valesco, Signior, pseud., *News from Rome*, 78, 264-5
 Vincent, Augustine, 173, 186, *A Discoverie of Errours*, 93, 149, 166-7, 272
 "Vrique, Jayne", see Jaggard, Jane

Walkley, Thomas, 167.
 Walley, Henry, 170-1
 Waterson, Simon, 77, 82, 95, 106, 122, 125
 Wats, James, *Controversie about Kneeling*, 142, 212
Way to true Happyness, 95, 194
 Weaver, Dorothy, see Jaggard, Dorothy
 Weaver, Edmund, 117, 178-9
 Westermann, William, *The Faithful Subject*, 82
 White, Edward, 77, 158
 White, John, 167
 Whitefield, Lettice, 176
 Whitefield, Richard, 124
 Wight, Thomas, 55, 71
 Wildgoose, William, 172
 Wilkins, G., 257.
 Wilson, Robert, 128
 Wilson, Thomas, 3, 19, 92, 174, *Christian Dictionarie*, 92, 101, 116, 167, 208, *Commentarie upon Romanes*, 92, 105, 119-20, 179, 206, *Saints by Calling*, 141, 212
 Windet, John, 65

Wimbledon, Thomas, <i>Sermon no less fruitfull then famous</i> , 117, 196-7	Yardsley, Richard, sr , 175.
Woodfall, Abraham, 176, 179	Yardsley, Richard, jr , 176
Worrell, Thomas, 171	Yetsweirt, Charles, 54, 55
Wright, Thomas, 96	Yetsweirt, Jane, 55
Yardsley, Joan, <i>see</i> Jaggard, Joan	York, Diocese of, Visitation articles, 97, 253-5.
	Yorkshire Tragedy, <i>see</i> Heywood, Thomas

He had at this time a small work, *An Apologie for Actors* (1612), ready for the press if not actually being printed. At the end of this book Heywood wrote an epistle to the printer in which he launched a furious attack upon Jaggard.

To my approved good Friend
Mr. Nicholas Okes.

The infinite faults escaped in my booke of Britaines Troy by the neglens of the printer, as the misquotations, mistaking of sillables, misplacing of halfe lines, coming of strange and never heard of words these being without number, when I would have taken particular account of the *errata*, the printer answered me, he would not publish his owne disworkmanship but rather let his owne fault lye upon the necke of the author. And being fearfull that others of his quality had been of the same nature and condition and finding you, on the contrary, so carefull and industrious, so serious and laborious to do the all the rights of the presse, I could not choose by gratulate your honest endeavours with this short remembrance. Here, likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that work by taking the two epistles of Paris to Helen and Helen to Paris and printing them in a lesse volume under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him and hee, to do himself right hath since published them in his owne name: but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy of his patronage under whom he hath publisht them, so the author I know much offended (*sic*) with M. Jaggard (that he altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name. These and the like dishonesties I know you to be clear of; and I could wish but to be the happy author of so worthy a worke as I could willing commit to your care and workmanship.

Yours, ever,
Thomas Heywood.

Jaggard could make no reply to the latter portion of Heywood's attack. It is not unlikely also that Shakespeare, who certainly had good reason to be much offended with Master Jaggard, added his protest to that of his acquaintance, Heywood. By 1612, now that the King's Players had been so well advanced in royal favour, the protest of Shakespeare could not but carry considerable weight. But Jaggard was not compelled to destroy the remainder of the edition, instead he seems to have satisfied any protests of Shakespeare or his friends by cancelling the title-pages of the unsold copies and printing others which did not bear the dramatist's name. For this reason the 1612 edition of the *Passionate Pilgrime* exists in two issues. The complaint of Heywood, possibly joined by Shakespeare, however, had no very lasting effect; Heywood's two epistles were included by Jaggard's successor, Thomas Cotes, in his 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, and it must be admitted in Jaggard's defence that the Stationers' Company in 1639 saw no objection to licensing to John Benson "an Addicion of some excellent Poems to Shakespeares by other gentlemen, vizt *His mistresse drawne* and *Her mind* by Beniamin Johnson. *An Epistle to Beniamin Johnson* by Francis Beaumont. *His Mistris Shade* by R. Herrick" (SR 1v, 487).

Jaggard was no doubt irritated by Heywood's attack, as would any man who is accused of lack of skill in the vocation wherein he earns his livelihood. Moreover, although he might be justly accused of